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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 7, 1 April 1991

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NOTICE: QIUSHI will no longer appear as a separate subtitled report in the JPRS China series. Beginning with Issue No. 8, 1991, QIUSHI articles will be published in the appropriate subject category in the regular JPRS China report.

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Common Prosperity: Fundamental Principle of Socialism

HK0705030391 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 91 pp 2-4, 13

[Commentator's article]

[Text] Common prosperity is the fundamental principle of socialism. Common prosperity is what makes socialism superior. Only the very essence of socialism can make it possible to realize common prosperity, a watershed that separates the socialist system from other exploitative systems in history. The private ownership system is built on the foundation of exploitation. Under that system, an extremely small group of people owns a major share of the means of production. The working people, although they are the majority in society, are in a miserable state in which they are exploited and enslaved. With the socialist system, people are their own masters. The system allows everyone to share the means of production and create and enjoy material wealth. The establishment of this system is the required prerequisite for achieving common prosperity for the people. People of many generations have the dream of living in great harmony. Only the socialist system can make their dream come true. Under the socialist system, the goal of social production is not to satisfy the greed of the minority, it is to satisfy the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people. It is the working people who create material wealth. Some of the material wealth is distributed according to work and enjoyed by the people themselves. The rest is under national control. This will pay the expenses for developing education, science, hygiene, national defense, and social welfare, or for building large-scale construction projects that regional governments or individual units cannot support on their own. In short, all material wealth is spent on the working people themselves. Lenin described the situation: Under the premise of working people sharing the means of production, "the products of common labor should be enjoyed by the workers themselves. Surplus products that are not needed in their daily lives will be used to satisfy workers' individual needs, for developing their individual skills, or for enabling everyone to have a fair chance to enjoy the fruit of science and art." This way, we can stimulate people's initiative and creativity, encourage the development of productivity, and raise the average person's living standard as fast as possible. One can say the socialist path is the path toward gradually realizing the dream of common prosperity. If one upholds socialism, one must also uphold the principle of common prosperity.

In China, socialist construction began when productivity was extremely low, combined national strength was at its lowest, and people lived in extreme poverty. Therefore, our most important task is to overcome poverty. As Comrade Deng Xiaopeng pointed out, "Poverty is not socialism. Socialism must abolish poverty. If we cannot develop productivity and improve the people's living standards, we cannot say that we have satisfied the

demand of socialism." For this reason, we must persevere in our determination to carry out economic construction, work hard for the development of productivity, and build a strong material foundation for the realization of common prosperity.

When we practice socialism we need to wipe out poverty, but we must at the same time prevent polarization into two extremes. Poverty is not socialism. Yet enriching only a small group of people and letting the majority stay poor is not socialism either. The essence of capitalism is to create a wide gap between the rich and the poor, causing polarization into two extremes. The capitalist world has changed somewhat since World War II. But the fact that capitalism is based on private ownership and capitalist production is to satisfy the capitalists' desire to obtain the most profits has never been changed, nor will it ever be. This is why there is never any "people's capitalism," nor will there be common prosperity among the capitalists and all the working people. According to information, the super rich, which are 2 percent of the population in the United States, own 60 percent of the property in the country, and 80 percent of the stock is held in the hands of the millionaires, or 1.6 percent of the population. The number of people living below the poverty line increases every day; a 30-percent hike in the 20 years from 1969 and 1988. This is what happens in the developed capitalist countries. The situation is the same with undeveloped capitalist nations, where the division between the rich and the poor is extreme and the poor live most miserably. International monopolists continue to exploit undeveloped countries and regions. They export funds and goods and buy up resources and labor at cheap prices. They are driving more people into poverty.

Here we are reminded of the situation in old China. On the one side there was a small number of extremely rich people, on the other side was the poor majority. One side was paradise on earth; the other, hell on earth. This is the historical portrait of old China, half feudal and half colonial. This phenomenon will never be allowed to repeat itself in the socialist New China. However, the advocates of bourgeois liberalization work hard to promote polarization. They believe China's problem is "not enough polarization." They urge everyone "not to worry about causing polarization," and everyone "should fully go for polarization." What they really mean when they advocate polarization is that they want capitalism. They want to start all over again. They would like to fatten up a capitalist class by using the social wealth that has been accumulated by Chinese people during the past decades. Then they will use the capitalist class as their base to promote capitalism. Comrade Deng Xiaopeng points out, "The objective of socialism is to achieve common prosperity, not polarization, for the whole country. We fail if our policy induces polarization. If we give birth to a new capitalist class, then we have really taken the wrong path." We must have a clear mind. We should not relinquish our fight against bourgeois liberalization. We must uphold the principle of common prosperity and take effective means to prevent polarization.

Of course, achieving common prosperity does not mean becoming prosperous at the same pace and at the same time. There is an ancient saying: "Material entities are not equal to each other, this is the nature of matter." That is to say, the common law of matter is its unbalanced situation. China covers a large area. Different parts of the nation have different distribution of natural resources, and their social, economic, and cultural development varies. Internal factors and external condition existing among individual regions, enterprises, and workers will not be the same. It is impossible for everyone to become rich at the same time and at the same pace. Accomplishing common prosperity is a slow, steady process. Some will get there first, the others may catch up. Some are quicker, others slower. It will be unrealistic to expect all regions and all people to become rich simultaneously, and in a short time. In the past, we thought common prosperity meant getting rich at the same time and at the same pace. We asked everyone in the country to start from the same point and advance at the same pace. We engaged in egalitarianism, promoted the "big rice bowl," and even suppressed the rich in the name of helping the poor. As a result, no one wanted to take any initiative. Our socialist economy did not have the vitality it needed and the process of accomplishing common prosperity was slowed down. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we decided to implement the system of distribution according to labor along with other methods of distribution. The new system allows and supports some people and some regions, through honest labor and legal business, to become prosperous first. We encourage those who are now rich to help the others who may be staying behind. Then, eventually all people and regions will accomplish common prosperity. The party believes that, with this system, we can build socialism with Chinese characteristics. We have found from experience that this system is good for the national situation, and this is what the people want. So far we have had success. The entire country has experienced changes since over a decade ago. Things have changed for the better even for the most backward regions. The living standard of all the people in the nation has generally improved. The success of development lies on letting individual sections help the overall situation and letting quantitative accumulation evolve into qualitative progress. This is the way to achieve common prosperity and we should continue the practice.

We must understand that "partial prosperity" is related to common prosperity; one is the means, the other is the end. We cannot separate the two and treat them as antitheses. We will be misinterpreting the party's policy if we alienate the principle of common prosperity and exaggerate the importance of "partial prosperity." Doing this will only lead to misconception and mistaken action. Every citizen in our country has the right to make money if he follows the policy and obeys the law. He must use honest and legal means, and he must not impair any national, collective, or other people's interest. If all he cares about is for himself to get rich first, despite the fact

that in doing so he may inflict damage on the nation, the collective, and other people, or if he gets rich by bullying his neighbors, by taking advantage of others, by endangering the public interest, and by using illegal or immoral means, then he is acting against policy and committing illegal acts. It is absolutely necessary to safeguard the profits the workers deserve. But we must also be prudent; we must prevent and solve the problem of unfair distribution. We need to reform in order to break away from the dead end of egalitarianism. We also need to make sure that the differences in incomes are proper and reasonable. We must take effective measure to restrict and correct anyone who decides to make money by illegal means. We must stop anyone from reaping huge profits illegally, and we must punish economic crimes. For those who obtain a high income by following this policy and by staying within legal boundaries, we need to improve our tax system so we can better regulate the situation. The situation will be under control if we can perfect the policy and legal system. We increase macroeconomic control and regulate economic activities. At the same time, we will use the economic levers of pricing, taxation, loans, and interest rates to regulate any regional and industrial differences. The general principle of this policy is to give priority to those who are eligible to become prosperous and to achieve common prosperity step by step.

Our goal is to achieve common prosperity gradually, and it is vital to our goal that those who get rich faster must help the others who are still struggling. Our nation is a socialist country built on the foundation of public ownership. Individual or regional interests cannot be separated from national and overall interests. The improvement of people's living standards and the gradual prosperity of the whole country is the same thing. During the last few years, some people and regions have become increasingly prosperous. There is the subjective factor of individual hard work, but geographical conditions and historical reasons together play an important role. Their success depends also on national and collective support and contributions from the whole country and all the people. Therefore, those who are ahead in achieving prosperity should not forget that the whole nation and the collective are looking for their help to achieve common prosperity. Naturally, help should be offered voluntarily and the conditions for help should be mutually beneficial. We do not encourage apportionment, "equal shares," or "robbing the rich to feed the poor." Aid should benefit the recipient as well as the benefactor. When we help others develop, we may gain more opportunities to expand, grow, and become more prosperous. Recently, many successful regions and individuals have decided to make contacts with those who are still struggling in poverty and offer them help by teaching them skills and technology, by giving financial aid, by showing them the path to prosperity, and by strengthening their ability. This is encouraging news. We must make an effort to preserve this experience and make our work in the future more efficient. The party and the country have always emphasized the point that we must help the less

developed and poor regions and we must pull them up. It is especially vital to the older, minority, border, and poor regions that the government take steps to help them develop their economy so they can get out of their predicament and obtain prosperity. In this aspect China has no choice but to continue and uphold this policy. This is an important issue even for the regions that have gained a head start and have a more advanced economy. They must do some serious thinking, determine their objectives, define their tasks, and eventually find a plausible way to implement their decision. The regions and individuals who are behind must learn to take advantage of the aid offered to them and at the same time learn to stand on their own feet. They must make the best of their own nature and superiority, work hard to improve their condition, and develop their economy.

It is of utmost importance that party members and cadres play an exemplary role in supporting the principle of common prosperity. Party members and cadres have the duty and responsibility to help the masses correctly understand the party's policy. They should set the example in abiding by the law and working hard to get rich. They also should find the way to lead the masses to prosperity. The present policy and distribution system of the party and country applies to party members and cadres, too. Their legal profits will be protected under the rule. But party members and cadres should maintain a higher standard. If we deviate from the principle of common prosperity and arbitrarily decide that party members and cadres should get rich first, then we are on the wrong path. If we allow this to happen, then it will be easy for party members and cadres to become alienated from the masses, and this will harm the party and the government. However, it is heartwarming to know that there are many party members and cadres all over the country trying very hard, to the point that they would give up their own opportunities, to help and provide leadership so that the people may obtain prosperity. Their character and sentiment provide the spiritual strength for the masses, and they stimulate people's desire to work hard and achieve common prosperity.

Historical experience and reality show us that only socialism can save China, and only socialism can develop China. Once we deviate from the socialist path, we will not be able to make our country strong and rich, nor will we be able to help the people of all nationalities to obtain the goal of common prosperity. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has designed a three-part development strategy for the construction of socialist modernization, and defined the basic line of "one center, two basic points." After a decade of hard work, we have accomplished the first part of the strategy. At the Seventh Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the party announced the second part of the strategy, its major objective and the basic guideline. We firmly believe that as long as we follow the central party's guidance and as long as we are willing to work hard, our national living standard will reach the moderate level. If we continue our struggle for

several more decades and carry out the third part of our strategy, our combined national strength will be presentable and our people will live a more prosperous life. We will be able to prove to the world, then and there, that the socialist path is the glorious avenue where the people's ideal can come true.

Nationality Question Can Be Resolved Only in the Course of Socialist Reform, Construction

HK1305115091 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 91 pp 5-8

[Article by Li Mingsan (2621 2494 0005)]

[Text] *Editor's note:* In September 1990, when General Secretary Jiang Zemin was conducting an investigation in Xinjiang, he repeatedly stressed and explained and demonstrated from various angles the importance of national unity. He required that the cadres of various nationalities establish and maintain a Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought viewpoint on nationality and viewpoint on religion and to take these as their guiding ideas in examining, studying, and handling the nationality and religious questions. He required that education in the Marxist viewpoint on nationality and religion be firmly and unwaveringly conducted among the broad masses of cadres and the masses, that the party's nationality and religious policies be seriously implemented, that the banner of patriotism and socialism be hoisted high and that they jointly struggle to safeguard the unity of the motherland, oppose national divisions and promote the common prosperity of all nationalities. This has major significance in correctly understanding nationality and religious questions and in further doing well in nationality and religious work. In order to help readers correctly understand and grasp the Marxist nationality viewpoint and religious viewpoint, this journal will be publishing several articles on this topic.

The nationality question is a part of the overall question of human social development, and it can be resolved only through socialist revolution and socialist construction participated in by the proletariat. This is the basic standpoint of the Marxist view on nationality. In observing and handling the nationality question, this basic standpoint must be grasped first.

Nationality is a product of the development of human society to a certain historical stage. After the formation of different national forms, no nation could avoid having contacts and links with other nations and, at the same time, could not avoid contradictions, struggle, or even confrontational contradictions of one sort or another. This, then, created the nationality question. It is manifested in political, economic, cultural, linguistic, and lifestyle modes, and in customs and religious beliefs; it runs through the whole course of national existence and development and has a quite widespread and long-term nature. Thus, not only is the nationality question tightly linked to the overall questions of society, but is likewise conditioned by the overall questions of society. This

determines that the nationality question cannot be truly resolved independently, but must be resolved in the process of resolving the overall questions of society. Following the development of society and the changes in social forms, the nationality question has had, in different historical periods, different content and forms of manifestation. Likewise, its nature has not been exactly the same and the methods of handling and resolving problems have naturally not been the same.

In a class society based on private ownership of the means of production, the major content and form of manifestation of the nationality problem is national oppression and national exploitation and the discrimination, estrangement, contradictions, clashes, and antagonism between nationalities that occur as a result. In a multi-ethnic society, when the exploiting class of one nationality seizes power and becomes the ruler, it generally oppresses and exploits the people of its own nationality and also oppresses and exploits other nationalities. Even in a single region, the exploiting class of the major local nationality, apart from exploiting the people of its own nationality, also generally exploits the minority nationalities of the region. Thus, it is said that private ownership is the socioeconomic base of ethnic exploitation, and ethnic oppression is, in the end, produced by class oppression, while the system of oppression is the overall root of the nationality problem in class society. Although the social forms in slave society, feudal society, and capitalist society are different, and there are also differences in the exploiting and oppressing classes and in the forms of exploitation and oppression they practice, producing differences in nationality problems, in their nature such problems are always essentially questions of class contradiction and class struggle. This means that in a class society, the nationality question cannot be basically resolved. To ensure that it is basically resolved, it is necessary to overthrow and eliminate the exploiting system, engage in socialist revolution and eliminate classes. As Marx and Engels pointed out, "As the exploitation of one individual by another is put to an end, so the exploitation of one nation by another is also put to an end. As the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, so the hostility of one nation to another will also come to an end."¹ Lenin also pointed out: "It is impossible to abolish national (or any other political) oppression under capitalism, since such requires the abolition of classes, that is, the introduction of socialism."² Clearly, the historical task of overthrowing and abolishing the system of exploitation can be achieved only by the advanced class within the various nationalities, that is the proletariat, and its political party. That is to say, if we are to enable the oppressed nationalities to stand up and be liberated and thereby resolve the nationality question, it can only be achieved through a socialist revolutionary movement participated in by the proletariat. Any attempt to resolve the nationality question where the system of exploitation is retained must be seen, if not as intentional deception, then as thoughtless illusion, and cannot be adopted by any political party that upholds Marxism.

Prior to the establishment of New China, the crux of the nationality question in China was also class exploitation and class oppression. Since ancient times, China has been a multi-ethnic country and for a long period of feudal society, regardless of whether the Han nationality or a minority nationality such as the Mongolian nationality or the Manchu nationality was the ruling nationality, their landlord class, without exception, exploited and oppressed the laboring people of their own nationality and exploited and oppressed other nationalities and their laboring people. When we compare the position of the Han nationality and various minority nationalities, we see that only the degree of exploitation and oppression differed. There was no essential difference between them. Thus, if the people of the various nationalities were to stand up and be liberated, the only way was to overthrow the reactionary rule of the landlord class. After the 1840 Opium War, China entered a semicolonial, semifeudal society. The continual aggression and unbridled plunder of the imperialist powers resulted in China facing the danger of partition and extinction. The various nationalities of China all deeply suffered the exploitation, oppression, and enslavement of the imperialist powers, jointly bore national suffering and lived in an abyss of misery. Thus, pressing on the people of all nationalities was not only the great mountain of feudalism, but also the two great mountains of imperialism and bureaucratism. The contradiction between the Chinese nation and imperialism and the contradiction between the masses and feudalism and bureaucratism become the major contradictions of semicolonial, semifeudal society. Without driving out the imperialists, the Chinese would have no independence to speak of; and without overthrowing the supporters of the imperialists—the large landowners and big capitalists with their official power—who exploited and suppressed the Chinese peoples, the problems of nationalities exploitation and suppression could not be resolved. Because of this, the overthrow of the big mountains was in the common fundamental interests of all nationalities, was the historical mission of the Chinese revolution, was the sole way in which the nationalities problem could be solved.

The CPC persisted in the Marxist nationality concept and correctly analyzed China's nationalities issues. With the fundamental interests of China's various nationalities in mind, the CPC formulated strategies and tactics according to China's national conditions. The CPC led various nationalities of China, through 28 years of hard struggle, to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism, and in turn created a New China where all nationalities were able to be their own masters. Next, the CPC carried out the socialist reform over the previous private ownership of the means of production, and the democratic reform in areas where people of various nationalities dwell, thus wiping out both the exploitive system and the exploiting class which had existed for the previous several thousand years. Consequently, the CPC enabled various nationalities to thoroughly cast off exploitation and repression, and enabled them to gain equal rights in political, economic,

and cultural areas. In this way, the nationalities question of class society was resolved in China and the various nationalities of China entered socialist society. During this process, some nationalities were freed from feudal serf society, some were freed from slave society and some were even freed from primitive society and, at one step, entered socialist society. This was, for the various nationalities of China, a deep-reaching and earthshaking change unprecedented in nature, which opened a broad road and laid a firm base for national progress and development. The practice by which China resolved the nationality question proves that the Marxist viewpoint on nationality is suited to all countries and regions in which national exploitation and national oppression exist, and it is a universally applicable truth. At the same time, it also proves that a proletarian political party can properly resolve the nationality question only by correctly combining the Marxist viewpoint on nationality with the realities of the nationality question in one's own country.

Socialist society is established on the basis of public ownership of the means of production and the elimination of the class source of the nationality question. However, the nationality question still exists and will exist for a long time to come. This is because, first, while it is extremely difficult to overturn and eliminate the system of exploitation and eliminate the exploiting classes, the historical practice of many countries has proven that this can still be accomplished in a short period, such as a score of years, a dozen years, or even just a few years. However, elimination of the consequences left by the system is more difficult to achieve. This is particularly so of ideologies, which, when formed, have quite an independence and often lag behind one's existence. These cannot be immediately eliminated with the abolition of the system of exploitation. For example, the elimination of national prejudices, national discrimination and big-nation chauvinism will need quite a long period of time. Second, even when socialist society has eliminated the exploiting classes, class struggle will continue to exist within a certain scope and, under certain conditions, may be intensified. Domestic class struggle is also always linked to international class struggle. In the opposition and struggle between the two ideologies and two systems of socialism and capitalism, the international reactionary forces have not given up using the nationality question or deliberately provoking nationality disputes to wage attacks on socialism, or linking up and engaging in collusion with hostile domestic forces to create social disturbance or even divisions between nationalities. Third, because of difficulties in the bases and the stages achieved in national development and the influence of other factors, differences have emerged between different areas in terms of the level of economic and cultural development and sometimes the differences are very great. This imbalance in development brings various sorts and various degrees of national contradictions. Finally, the objective patterns of social development determine that, first, class will die out and finally nations will die out. Prior to the withering away of states,

that is, prior to the whole world entering communism, nationalities will still exist. As long as nationalities exist, differences between one and the other will exist, and the nationality question that this brings will not be thoroughly resolved. From this we can see that the major content of the nationality question in socialist society is the differences in economic and cultural level between nationalities which have been left over from history, and the various contradictions which have been produced by this. As Comrade Li Peng correctly pointed out in a speech at the national conference of heads of nationality committees in February 1990: "Our country's nationality question is more frequently manifested in the problem of minority nationalities and nationality regions urgently requiring accelerated economic and cultural construction." In terms of its nature, the nationality question in socialist society is basically different from the nationality question in class society and is generally an internal contradiction among the people. However, if it is ignored or improperly handled, or if mistakes occur in policy, and particularly if we drop our vigilance against harmful plots by hostile domestic or foreign forces, the contradictions will be intensified and national clashes and confrontation of a class struggle nature may occur. This has already been proven by the realities of some countries. Thus, resolving the nationality problem well during the socialist period is a major historical task faced by the proletarian party holding power in a multi-ethnic state, and certainly cannot be treated lightly.

Comrade Zhou Enlai once pointed out, "The development of the various nationalities in our country is very unbalanced. This situation has come down to us from history, and is reflected in both the economic base and the superstructure. If we want to move toward balance, there needs to be cooperation and mutual assistance between the various nationalities, and we cannot talk about development in an isolated way."³ This tells us that the basic avenue for resolving the nationality question in socialist society is for all nationalities to unite and cooperate in carrying out socialist modernization to achieve the common progress, common wealth, and common prosperity of all nationalities. Marxism holds that the working class must liberate the whole of mankind before it can finally liberate itself. If, in a state where one's party holds power, some minority nationalities or nationality regions are in a backward situation on the economic and cultural levels, the realization of the state's prosperity and strengthening and the degree to which these are realized will be affected, and the degree to which the working class itself is liberated will naturally not be great. This is especially so in China, where people of minority nationalities number close to 100 million persons, the area of the regions in which they reside occupies 64 percent of the total area of the country, and their economic and cultural levels are generally lower than those of the Han nationality. Thus, the influence of such situations on national prosperity and strengthening is even more marked. Therefore, speeding the economic and cultural development of minority nationalities and

nationality areas as well as areas where the Han nationality is backward, and overcoming inequalities are not only demands of the principle that the working class must liberate itself, but are also the bases of social and political stability in nationality areas and of the long-term stable rule of the country. These are also in accord with the demands and basic interests of the various nationalities of the whole country. China's economy is a unified entity. While the economic and cultural development of the minority nationalities and nationality regions must rely on the joint efforts of the minority nationalities and nationality regions, it cannot be divorced from state support and assistance and support from the quite advanced nationalities. This shows that the prosperity and strengthening of the state is a precondition for the economic and cultural development and the prosperity of the minority nationalities and the nationality areas. The imbalance between the nationalities in terms of economic and cultural development can be overcome only gradually after development of the socialist construction of the overall state. In other words, the nationality question in socialist society is only a part of the overall question of socialist modernization and can be resolved only in the process of carrying out socialist modernization where there is a high degree of culture and a high degree of democracy.

The realization of common prosperity requires the combining of state assistance, the assistance of other nationalities, and self-reliance by one's own nationality. Comrade Jiang Zemin, at a speech at the meeting commemorating the 40th anniversary of the PRC, pointed out, "We must adopt necessary measures, continue to assist and support the development of the economic, educational, cultural, and other undertakings in nationality areas, and make long-term, unrelenting efforts to gradually eliminate the disparities that have been handed down by history and which exist to differing degrees among the various nationalities." As far as the state is concerned, it should provide the greatest possible conditions and the greatest possible opportunities for the economic and cultural development of minority nationalities and nationality areas. The developed Han nationality areas should do their best to assist and support the minority nationalities and minority areas and backward Han nationality areas. They should fully recognize that this assistance and support is mutually beneficial and based on mutual interests, and does not simply involve one side helping the other. Seen from a long-term strategic view, the reserve strength and prospects for our country's economic development will, to a great degree, be determined by the situations in resource development and economic development in nationality regions. At that time, the mutual interests and mutual benefits will be more obvious. At the same time, the various minority nationalities and nationality areas should also fully recognize that the realization of any beautiful aspirations requires one's own hard work and the bringing into play of one's own enthusiasm and creativity. The support of quite developed nationalities

and areas is only the condition for realizing the prosperity and wealth of one's own nationality. Thus, it is necessary for the spirit of self-reliance of one's own nationality to be fully brought into play, and that this be combined with the help and support of other nationalities and the state's assistance, so that better results are achieved. Only in this way will it be possible to gradually reduce the disparities between the various nationalities, realize common progress, common wealth, and common prosperity, and allow the various nationalities to progress together toward greater goals.

From the position of the nationality question in the overall question of society, and its manifestations and avenues of resolution in class society and socialist society, one can see that the basic interests of all nationalities are identical, and their common fate and avenues of development tie them closely together. The commonality of the basic interests of the people of all nationalities is the point of departure and basic foothold of the Marxist viewpoint on nationality. As far as communists who have the liberation of the whole of mankind as their task are concerned, regardless of which nationality they belong to, they are first and foremost communists and secondly members of their nationality. Thus, they should link up with the masses of their nationality, warmly love their nationality and reflect in a timely way the demands and requirements of their nationality. They should also link up with the masses of other nationalities, warmly love the members of other nationalities of the great socialist family, and act as models in promoting the unity, progress, and prosperity of the people of all nationalities. That is, they should firmly maintain the view that "the prosperity of all nationalities is the basic stand of our socialism on the national policy level,"⁴ and correctly understand and grasp the Marxist viewpoint on nationality which requires the common prosperity and common progress of all nationalities. They should also, through their work, ensure that the Marxist viewpoint on nationality and the party's nationality policies become the common knowledge of the broad masses, especially of young people, and ensure that this common knowledge is continually strengthened and passed on from generation to generation so that it becomes a powerful weapon to guard against the interference of various sorts of mistaken ideas.

Over the last 40 years, under the leadership of the CPC and through the common efforts of the people of all nationalities, there has been great economic and cultural development among the minority nationalities and in nationality areas. This has been especially so since the implementation of the reforms and opening up, when even more progress has been seen, people's lives have been widely improved, the disparities between the nationalities have been reduced, and the people of all nationalities have been satisfied. This is the result of the CPC adhering to the Marxist viewpoint on nationality and implementing the correct nationality policies. In future, as long as we adhere to the party's leadership, unwaveringly follow the socialist road, seriously implement the basic line of "one focus and two basic points"

and the party's various nationality policies, seriously implement the "Law on Nationality Area Autonomy," and continually perfect the system of nationality area autonomy, then the common progress, common wealth, and common prosperity of the various nationalities will certainly see a brighter and more brilliant tomorrow.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 1, p. 270.
2. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 22, p. 319.
3. *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai*, Final Volume, p. 260.
4. *Ibid.*, Final Volume, p. 263.

Further Do a Good Job in Religious Work, Serve the State's Stability, Development

HK1305132091 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 91 pp 9-13

[Article by Ren Wuzhi (0117 0523 0037), director of the Bureau of Religious Affairs under the State Council]

[Text] The 1990's is a very crucial period in the historical process of China's socialist modernization. The "Proposal of the CPC Central Committee on Drawing Up the 10-Year Program for National Economic and Social Development and the Eighth Five-Year Plan" sets down the grand blueprint for China's economic construction and social development over the next 10 years, and puts forward a program of action by which the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country can continue to advance. In December 1990, the State Council convened a national religious work conference to summarize religious work over the last decade and to make arrangements for religious work for some time to come. Considering religious work from the angle of building socialism with Chinese characteristics so it better serves the stability and development of the state and the unity of the nation and better serves the realization of the second-step strategic goal of China's socialist modernization, several questions need to be resolved on the ideological and practical work levels.

I. Correctly Analyzing Current Situation in Religious Work

What is the current situation in religious work? This is a question of concern to many and a question that must be answered.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party's correct principles and policies on the question of religion were revived. In 1982, on the basis of summing up the positive and negative experiences since the founding of the PRC, and studying the situation of religion under the situation of reform and opening up, the party Central Committee explained the basic views and policies on the question of religion during China's socialist period, and thereby guaranteed that religious work would advance along the correct

track. During the last 10 years, under the guidance of the party Central Committee's correct policies and through the common efforts of party committees and government and patriotic religious groups at all levels, obvious achievements have been realized in religious work. The party's various religious policies have been implemented, venues for religious activities have been opened up and arranged, patriotic religious groups have been revived or established, citizens' freedom of religious belief and the legitimate rights and interests of regular religious activities and religious groups have been guaranteed through law and policies, and religious activities in most regions are normal. The patriotic and socialist consciousness of persons in the religious circles has been raised, they support the leadership of the CPC and the socialist system and actively coordinate with the party and government in implementing religious policies. They have also done much beneficial work in safeguarding social stability and the unity of the nationalities, in promoting the unity of the motherland, and in developing friendly international contacts. The patriotic united front of the religious circles of all nationalities, which is under the party's leadership, has been further consolidated and strengthened, and the masses of religious believers of all nationalities have actively participated in the building of socialist material and spiritual culture. It should be affirmed that religious work in the last several years has accorded with the situation of reform and opening up and has centered on and served the party's central tasks, and, overall, the situation is good.

At the same time, it should be recognized that religious work under the new situation still faces many new situations and problems. For example, hostile forces abroad use religion to engage in subversive and harmful activities against us, while a very small number of national splittist elements use religion to fan disturbances and cause trouble. Domestically, a few lawless elements also use religion to engage in criminal activities. In response to these situations, we should maintain sober minds and due vigilance. In another respect, there also exist many problems in implementing the policy of freedom of religious belief, and instances of violation of citizens' right to freedom of religious belief and violation of the legitimate rights and interests of religious groups still occur. These problems likewise must not be overlooked.

I believe that, in analyzing the religious work situation, there are at least two points that must be stressed: First, the major standard in judging religious work should be, as the party Central Committee pointed out long ago: We should see whether it links up the whole body of the masses of believers and the masses of nonbelievers to centralize their will and energies in the common goal of building a strong, modern socialist state. This is our basic point of departure in implementing the policy of freedom of religious belief and handling all religious questions. Practice has proven that implementing the religious policies of the party, unifying the patriotic

personages of the religious circles and the broad masses of believers, so as to motivate their enthusiasm for socialism, and consolidating and expanding the patriotic united front, will play a promotional role in social stability, ethnic solidarity, the unity of the motherland and the four modernizations, and will also have a beneficial effect on the international level. This is a basic appraisal. Second, we should adhere to the "doctrine that everything has two aspects." That is, we must fully affirm achievements and must also soberly recognize the problems that exist, as only in this way will we be able to make correct decisions. If we do not correctly assess, on the macro level, the situation of religious work, and if we do not recognize the achievements we have realized, then we will lose faith and even doubt the correctness of the party's religious work policies. On the other hand, if we ignore problems and lower our guard and become careless, it will also have undesirable effects. We should, through correct analysis, unify our understanding, summarize our experiences, and seriously handle religious questions well under the new situation, so that religious work better serves the stability and development of the state.

II. Fully Understanding Importance of Religious Work

In a speech to the national religious work conference, Premier Li Peng pointed out that the "correct treatment and handling of the question of religion is a major issue in our country's socialist construction, and is also an important component in the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics." This is an important conclusion drawn by summing up history and current experience, and it fully shows the importance of religious work in China's socialist construction.

China has five main religions: Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Christianity, and Catholicism. After the establishment of New China, through the profound transformation of the social and economic system and major changes in the religious system, some basic changes occurred in the situation of religion in China and contradictions on religious issues are now mainly contradictions among the people. In China's socialist society, the basic political and economic interests of the masses of religious believers and the masses of nonbelievers are the same, while their differences in ideas and beliefs are secondary. General Secretary Jiang Zemin has incisively pointed out that "the principle we follow in handling the relationship with our friends in religious circles is unity and cooperation on the political level and mutual respect in terms of ideas and beliefs." Thus, the masses of religious believers and nonbelievers are quite able to unite under the banner of patriotism and socialism and, with one heart and mind, build their motherland. We should recognize that religion in China still has a widespread mass base and social influence and, although the masses who believe in the various religions do not constitute a very great proportion of the overall national population, their absolute number is certainly not small. In various senses, the question of correctly handling religious issues is a question of correctly handling the masses. Only by

implementing the policy of freedom of religious belief will we be able to promote the unity of the whole body of religious believers and the broad masses of nonbelievers, and mobilize the enthusiasm of patriotic personages of the religious circles and the broad masses of religious believers, so that they jointly make efforts in the cause of socialist modernization.

China is a multi-ethnic country and religion still has a wide-ranging and profound influence among some of the minority nationalities, in which nearly the whole population believes in a particular religion. Although nationality and religion are two different categories, in real life the nationality issue and the religious issue are often interlinked. Thus, correctly implementing the party's religious policies has especially major significance in the minority nationality regions. If we do not pay attention to respecting the religious beliefs of the minority nationality masses, it will affect our relations with the minority nationality masses and affect ethnic solidarity and national unity. The unity between the religious believers of the various nationalities and the nonbelievers is an important part of the overall unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and the overall unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country is a basic necessity for ensuring victory in China's socialist cause. We must pay great attention to respecting the religious beliefs of the minority nationality masses and unify the various nationalities in struggling together for the prosperity of the socialist motherland. We must also oppose any criminal actions which attempt to use religion to destroy ethnic solidarity or to split the nation.

The experiences of history tell us that religion is an issue involving the ideas and beliefs of the masses. However, under certain conditions and in certain situations, it can be used by hostile domestic and foreign forces, thus causing some contradictions to be intensified or even to become confrontational contradictions, and thereby affecting the stability of the state and society. This is because, although class struggle is no longer the major contradiction in China's society, it still exists within a certain scope and may at times be reflected in religious issues. Thus, in handling religious issues, we must proceed from the overall idea of safeguarding stability, and firmly distinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions. In respect of questions of ideological understanding among the masses, we must adhere to the policy of maintaining solidarity and adhere to democratic and educational methods. However, we must firmly curb harmful activities carried out by domestic or foreign hostile forces, regardless of what form they appear in.

Religion is also an international phenomenon. In history, friendly religious contacts have occupied a very important position in China's cultural interflow with places abroad, while foreign imperialism and colonialism used religion to engage in military and cultural aggression against our country, and this left painful memories for the Chinese people. After establishment of

New China, friendly external contacts on the religious level were continuously developed and have now become a part of China's nongovernmental diplomacy. However, hostile foreign forces have not given up their efforts to use religion to engage in subversive and harmful activities against our country. Since China implemented opening up to the outside, these hostile forces have seen even more opportunities to make use of, and have stepped up their subversive activities in this respect. Thus, we need to understand this question both from the high plane of safeguarding world peace and developing China's friendly foreign relations and from the high plane of subversion and countersubversion, "peaceful evolution" and counter-"peaceful evolution."

In brief, the question of religion is a major question that affects the stability and unity of China, affects ethnic solidarity and the unity of the motherland, affects the building of socialist material and spiritual culture, and affects the struggle between subversion and countersubversion and "peaceful evolution" and counter-"peaceful evolution." We communists are atheists and do not believe in any religion, but in formulating religious policies and handling religious issues, we must accord with objective patterns, accord with the patterns of religion itself, and see such policies as being beneficial to the development of the overall cause of socialist construction. Under China's socialist conditions, the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, and the class source for the existence and development of religion has been basically removed. However, the social sources and cognitive sources of religion still exist. Under socialist historical conditions, religion's influence on some people will exist for quite a long time to come. The development of socialist material culture and socialist spiritual culture will inevitably lead to the gradual elimination of that on which religion relies for existence. This is the basic avenue for the natural withering away of religion. Thus, we must correctly implement religious policies and, through the religious work of the party and the government, guide action according to the circumstances, motivate positive elements, and better serve the realization of the party's basic line and strategic goals.

III. Implementing Policy of Freedom of Religious Belief in Overall Way

The policy of freedom of religious belief is a long-term basic policy of the party and the state in dealing with the question of religion. This policy was formulated in accordance with the Marxist viewpoint on religion in light of the actual situation of religion in China, and it accords with the basic interests of the people of the whole country. As long as there are people who believe in religion, we will follow this policy and it will not change. At present, we must pay attention to maintaining the stability and continuity of religious policies and implement the policy of freedom of religious belief in an overall and correct way.

Respecting and safeguarding freedom of religious belief includes guaranteeing people freedom to profess a religion and people's freedom not to profess a religion. The Constitution stipulates that no state organ, social group, or individual can compel citizens to believe in a religion or not to believe in a religion, and nor must they discriminate against citizens who have religious beliefs or citizens who do not have religious beliefs. In national terms, the number of people who believe in religion is a minority, but the situation differs in various areas. In areas where the majority of people do not believe, we must pay attention to respecting and protecting the rights of the minority who do believe in religion. In areas where the majority of people have religious beliefs, we must pay attention to respecting and safeguarding the rights of the minority of people who do not believe. In brief, there must be mutual respect, solidarity, and harmony between those people who believe in religion and those who do not, as well as between persons of different religions and different sects. Any phenomenon involving discrimination against persons who do believe in religion or persons who do not believe in religion should be corrected.

Religious activities must be carried out within the scope allowed by the Constitution, law, and policies. This is consistent with freedom of religious belief. The government must, in accordance with the law, protect the legitimate rights and interests of religious groups, temples, and churches, safeguard the religious staff and workers in carrying out normal religious administrative activities, and safeguard believers in engaging in normal religious activities. The policy of freedom of religious belief is a right given to citizens by the Constitution and law. Thus, at the same time as citizens exercise the right to freedom of religious belief, they must fulfil their obligations. No person may use religion to oppose the party's leadership or the socialist system; to endanger the unity of the state, the stability of society, or ethnic solidarity; to harm the interests of society or the collective; or to obstruct the legitimate rights and interests of other citizens. No one may use religion to interfere in state administration, justice, school education, or public education in society, and no one is permitted to revive religious or feudal privileges or systems of exploitation and oppression which have already been eliminated. We must guide the personages of the religious circles and the broad masses of religious believers to raise their respect for the law and discipline, so that by consciously safeguarding the stability of the state and society, and guarding against and opposing the use of religion to engage in criminal activities, we can promote the regularization of religious activities. Thereby, the policy of freedom of religious belief will be correctly implemented.

The Constitution stipulates that China's religious groups and religious affairs will not be controlled by foreign forces. Independence, doing things for oneself and autonomy, self-development and self-transmission are basic principles in Chinese religions' handling of foreign

relations, and are also characteristics of Chinese religions. Under the conditions of opening to the outside world, all religions in our country face new tests in maintaining independence and autonomy. We must support contacts, on the basis of equality and friendship, between religious circles in China and religious organizations and personages abroad to increase mutual understanding and friendship between the people of the various countries of the world. At the same time, we must educate the personages of the religious circles to consciously safeguard the interests of the state and the nation, safeguard the sovereignty of the state, adhere to the principles of independence, deciding things for oneself, autonomy, self-development and self-transmission, and firmly oppose meddling and interference by foreign religious organizations in the internal affairs of Chinese religion and firmly oppose their attempts to again control Chinese religion. No foreign religious organization or individual is permitted to establish religious bodies or religious activity venues or to engage in missionary activities in our country. All relevant departments, in handling interflow and cooperation with places abroad, must seriously implement the party's religious policies, so that the activities are beneficial to opening up to the outside world and also beneficial to resisting hostile foreign forces using religion to engage in subversive activities.

In order to implement the policy of freedom of religious belief in an overall way, better safeguard normal religious activities and the legitimate rights and interests of religious circles, guard against and curb lawless elements using religious activities to create chaos and commit crimes, and in order to resist hostile foreign forces using religion to engage in subversion, we must manage religious affairs in accordance with the law. Such management involves the government exercising administrative management and supervision over the implementation of relevant laws, regulations, and policies. This is intended so that religious activities remain within the scope of laws, regulations, and policies and do not interfere with normal religious activities or the internal affairs of religious bodies. Patriotic religious groups are bridges by which the party and the government unify and educate the personages of the religious circles. Fully bringing into play the role of patriotic religious groups is an important organizational guarantee for the proper implementation of the party's religious policies and for ensuring that religious activities are regularized. Party committees and governments at all levels must support and assist the strengthened building of patriotic religious groups, so that they independently develop their activities in accordance with their own characteristics and patterns and do well in religious affairs.

IV. Strengthening Party and Government Leadership, Striving To Realize Basic Tasks of Religious Work

At the work conference convened not long ago by the State Council, the basic tasks of the party and government in religious work for some time to come were set down. They manifest the stability and continuity of the

party's religious policies and the idea of implementing, in an overall way, the policy of freedom of religious belief. They also manifest the idea that religious work must serve the party's central tasks. Raising the understanding of all the comrades in the party in respect of religious issues and strengthening leadership over religious work by party committees and governments at all levels are basic guarantees for ensuring the realization of the basic tasks of the party and government in religious work for some time to come.

The party Central Committee and the State Council place great stress on religious work. Premier Li Peng personally attended the national religious work conference and made an important speech. General Secretary Jiang Zemin called some of the delegates together for a discussion and gave them important directions. On the eve of the Spring Festival, General Secretary Jiang Zemin also invited leaders from the various religious groups to Zhongnanhai as his guests to have a frank discussion on our country's religious issues and religious policies. The party central committee and the State Council have required that party committees and governments at all levels must place stress on religious work, place religious work on the agenda, study and analyze the religious work situation at regular intervals, seriously examine the situation of religious policy implementation, resolve problems in a timely way, and motivate everyone in the party, all levels of government and all sides of society to further stress, concern themselves with, and do well in religious work, so religion is suited to socialist society. Religious work is an important part of the party's mass work, and the broad masses of religious believers are spread at the grassroots level. The grassroots party organizations and the grassroots organs of state power must strengthen their leadership over religious work, seriously implement the party's religious policies, and stress the ideological education of religious teaching and administrative staff and the masses of believers. In areas where the masses of religious believers are concentrated and where economic and cultural conditions are backward, it is necessary to organically combine economic and cultural development undertakings with doing well in religious work.

It is necessary to stress and strengthen ideological and political work and carry out education in patriotism, socialism, and ethnic solidarity among the broad masses of people. We must actively educate the broad masses of people and especially the broad masses of young people in dialectical materialism and historical materialism (including atheism), so as to have the broad masses of young people become a generation of new people who have ideals, morality, culture, and discipline. We must concern ourselves with the hardships of the masses, help the masses to resolve their real problems, propagate scientific and cultural knowledge, develop rich, varied, healthy, and beneficial spare-time cultural activities, and guide the attention of the masses to the building of the two types of socialist culture. As for publishing works that touch on religion, they are not allowed to violate the

religious policies of the party and the state or to harm the religious sensitivities of the masses of religious believers. Nor are they allowed to use religion to distort history or to harm national unity or ethnic solidarity. Communists must establish a correct world view, continually raise their political consciousness, firm their communist faith, and implement the party's religious policies in a model way.

Following the deepening and expansion of reform and opening up, the tasks of religious work have become daily more onerous and the establishment of a religious work cadre contingent suited to the heavy tasks is a major organizational guarantee for doing well in religious work. Premier Li Peng has pointed out: "All levels of government must perfect religious work organs and allocate to the work posts cadres who have good political qualities and a strong capacity for work and who are very familiar with religious work." At the same time as perfecting the organs and strengthening their cadres, religious work departments at all levels of government should strengthen their own construction. Religious work cadres must make efforts to study Marxist theory, familiarize themselves with the religious policies of the party, understand relevant legislation, master specialized religious work knowledge, and develop close links to the patriotic personages of the religious circles and the broad masses of religious believers. In their work, they must stress survey research and continually improve their work styles and methods, work diligently, perform their duties honestly, and serve the people with all their hearts.

Notes on Reflections on *Yearning* Craze

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[Text] Around the time when the Year of the Horse gave way to the Year of the Ram, the 50-episode indoor television drama *Yearning* produced a sensational effect in society. It was screened in many parts of the country, from Nanjing to Beijing and from Chengdu to Wuhan, breaking all ratings records wherever it was shown. Tens of thousands of viewers, men and women, young and old, were moved by the fate of the protagonists. A *Yearning* craze of unprecedented proportions was whipped up. The craze has now subsided, but as a noteworthy cultural phenomenon, I think the value of *Yearning* goes far beyond the play itself. It was with this in mind that I made a sober and scientific analysis of the play from the perspective of Marxist historical materialism and dialectical materialism. The following notes on my reflections are the sum of my understanding.

I

The emergence of *Yearning* was by no means fortuitous. This social aesthetic phenomenon and mass fervor of artistic appreciation arrived primarily because *Yearning*

accurately touched the group aesthetic nerve of contemporary audiences and touched the point of excitation and area of resonance in the aesthetic psychology of the masses. Studying and analyzing the reasons for the *Yearning* craze from the perspective of viewer aesthetics will give us an idea of how today's socialist literature and art can better adhere to the orientation of "serving the people and serving socialism"; come closer to the masses, everyday life, and reality; and be better loved by the masses.

Attaching importance to the study of viewers' aesthetic psychology is an important breakthrough in art criticism in the new period. Influenced by the "sediment [chen dian 3089 3244] theory" which was in vogue a few years back, some critics focused their attention on the "sediment" of the centuries-old feudal autocracy, the rule of semifeudalism and semicolonialism over the past 100-plus years, as well as backward and negative factors in the aesthetic psychology of contemporary audiences, and drew the conclusion that a "new enlightenment" was in place today. There is no denying that the prolonged influence of feudal traditions and the modern capitalist ideas of the West have left their mark on the aesthetic psychology of the viewers. This is an important aspect which we must fully take into account and strive to eliminate. However, this is but an aspect of the problem, not its entirety. According to the "sediment theory," there is also no denying that the age-old historical and cultural traditions and enterprising spirit of the Chinese nation, the tradition of the Chinese people in waging revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the CPC during the past 50 years, as well as the tradition of building socialism in the history of the People's Republic have left a "sediment" of valuable positive factors in the aesthetic psychology of contemporary audiences. These positive factors include patriotism, national self-respect and self-strengthening, the work style of starting an enterprise through arduous effort, the prevailing practice of unity and mutual assistance, the quality of broad-mindedness and sincerity, the idea of sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of others, sincere and pure love, and so on. This kind of national spirit, philosophy of life, and moral and ethical values constitute the main aspects of the aesthetic psychology of contemporary audiences. They represent the quintessence of the history and culture of the Chinese nation, and are the fundamental qualities that enable us to stand on our own among the nations of the world. Our acknowledgement of this fact is a point where we differ in principle from the national nihilists. Recognition of this point is an important precondition for correctly studying and analyzing viewers' aesthetic psychology in the *Yearning* craze.

First, *Yearning* is a strong response to the powerful and warm current of patriotism, national self-respect, and self-strengthening in the aesthetic psychology of contemporary audiences. With the rapid development of the television industry since the 1980's, television drama as a new art form has achieved much wider coverage,

greater impact, and stronger permeative capacity than similar art forms thanks to modern means of transmission. Out of their sense of patriotism, national self-respect, and self-strengthening, the Chinese people, who have plunged into the torrents of socialist modernization, ardently hope to see a greater number of outstanding Chinese television dramas that can better reflect the great era in which they live so that they can play a better role in ideological and cultural development. Long serialized dramas can, no doubt, produce a greater impact on audiences than any other type of television drama. The regrettable thing is that most of the long serialized dramas screened in recent years were foreign productions. Although audiences appreciated the tales of strangers in dramas like *Blood Suspicions*, *The Slave Girl*, *Story of Ashin*, and *Libel*, which were set in foreign lands, they often regretted the fact that home-made serialized dramas were not available. The arrival of *Yearning* fully satisfied this desire. What this actually meant was that it satisfied the patriotic sentiment and sense of national self-respect and self-strengthening on the part of contemporary audiences to promote the outstanding culture of their own nation and show the new era of the motherland. It is thus understandable that *Yearning* produced such a sensation the moment it was released.

Second, *Yearning* is also a strong response to the call for realistic art that comes closer to the everyday life and reality of the masses in the aesthetic psychology of contemporary audiences. Art belongs to the people, and the popular art of television drama is no exception. However, influenced by the bourgeois trend of thought a few years back, some people in literature and art circles did their best to play down the significance of realism and advocated its replacement by the modernism of the West. They preached that creation must be "distanced" from time and life and must be "turned inward." As a result, a large number of literature and art works emerged that prided themselves on their "expression of the self" and toyed with the modernist tricks of the West. Naturally, these works were cold-shouldered by the people. The "loss of sensational effect" is, in fact, the silent criticism given by contemporary audiences to this kind of work. With its sincere and unadorned presentation that comes closer to the masses, everyday life, and reality, *Yearning* has artistically reproduced on the screen the changes in the lives of ordinary people which we have come to know so well during the past two decades. The fact that it has produced such a strong response from audiences shows the great vitality of realistic art which belongs to the people.

Third, *Yearning* is a strong response to the call for socialist collectivist moral values and the most noble of human sentiments, with devotion, broad-mindedness, and sincerity at the core, in the aesthetic psychology of contemporary audiences. Since entering the new period, Chinese people who survived disasters during the decade-long Cultural Revolution have been eagerly calling for the resurrection of socialist collectivist moral

values as well as sincerity and understanding between people—qualities which were destroyed and trampled on by the gang of four. Under the new situation of reform and opening up, Western culture flooded into China a few years ago. A handful of people in ideological and cultural circles who advocated bourgeois liberalization automatically adopted the individualistic moral and ethical values of the West. They totally negated the traditional moral values of the Chinese nation and opposed socialist collectivist moral values. To a certain extent, this upset the moral values of the entire society and even weakened our moral education in socialist collectivism. We painfully came to realize that it was precisely due to this agitation by a handful of "elite" members of society that some people became selfish under the impact of the commodity economy. Interpersonal relations became callous, and individualism, money worship, hedonism, national nihilism, and pragmatism sneaked in unnoticed. Among these people, faith in the socialist ideal was badly shaken, and friendship and sincerity were hard to come by. Against this backdrop, the rounded and lifelike artistic images of Liu Huifang, Song Dacheng, Granny Liu, Luo Gang, Xiao Zhuxin and others portrayed in *Yearning* appealed for sincerity, eulogized true love, and saluted the spirit of sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of others. This inevitably struck a very sympathetic chord in social psychology and in the aesthetic psychology of contemporary audiences. In this sense, *Yearning* reflects the pressing desire of the Chinese people to carry forward the traditional virtues of the Chinese nation and step up socialist moral development under new historical conditions. Naturally this also embodies the people's forceful criticism and censure of the myriad of individualistic outlooks on life and moral values that do not accord with conditions in China.

II

If we look at the play from the perspective of the scriptwriters instead, that is, from the perspective of artistic creation, we will also find that an important reason for the success of *Yearning* lies in the fact that it attaches importance to the study and analysis of the viewers' aesthetic psychology and has accurately grasped this psychology.

The scriptwriters said that they had decided to produce a play that "the masses will love to watch" before they proceeded to write the script. This original intention sounded simple, but it was also of great significance. In order to produce a play that "the masses will love to watch," as noted above, they not only saw that life during the two decades reproduced in *Yearning* would vigorously strike a sympathetic chord in the universal social psychology of contemporary audiences, but took care to fully respect the aesthetic habits developed by contemporary audiences through years of appreciation in the portrayal of characters and in the plotting of the story and the structural arrangement.

In order to move the audience and arouse their interest, in the portrayal of the characters, *Yearning* adopted the aesthetic approach of pushing everything to extremes, both in characterization and in depicting the fate of its protagonists. Extremity is a kind of beauty. In aesthetic creation, extreme sadness is beautiful, and so are extreme happiness, extreme goodness, and extreme evil. In the beginning, code names were used for all of the characters in *Yearning*. For instance, Liu Huifang was called "the oriental lady"; Wang Yaru was "the nasty sister-in-law"; Wang Husheng was "the pedantic intellectual"; Song Dacheng was "the silent pursuer".... What they were doing was outlining the personality traits of the characters and then pushing them to extremes, so that "the good will be thoroughly good and thoroughly down-and-out." This meant that the fate of the characters must show major ups and downs and be pushed to extremes. It has been proved that this approach, of pushing the temperament and fate of characters to extremes in aesthetic creation, is in keeping with the aesthetic habits of the masses and is one of the factors that produced the *Yearning* craze. The extreme goodness of Liu Huifang, "the oriental lady," found expression not only in the fact that, by raising an abandoned child, she lost her job, ruined her health, and lost the home she had tried so hard to build up, but also in the fact that she agreed to marry Husheng, "the son of a dog," in order to soothe three wounded hearts (those of Husheng, his mother, and Yaru). We may criticize her for confusing sympathy with love, and can debate the correctness or otherwise of her choice from the ending, but one cannot but be deeply moved by her beauty of extreme goodness in treating others with sincerity and in sacrificing her own interests for the sake of others. When misfortune hit her time and time again—after losing her home, her son, her husband, and her legs, she even lost her only spiritual support, Xiao Fang—how can anyone not be shocked by the tragic fate of this lady who was "thoroughly good and thoroughly down-and-out"?

In order to give audiences a sense of closeness and familiarity, *Yearning* strove to attain the quality of being truthful and natural in its plot. It combined changes in the situation with "neighborhood gossip and the manners and morals of the time." When designing the plot, the scriptwriters had obviously studied and adopted the most popular "modes" in the aesthetic psychology of the masses. The first mode was: Chinese audiences (of ballads and the like) and Chinese readers (of vernacular short stories and the like) have always enjoyed watching or reading stories about "the scholar in distress meeting the girl who has a heart of gold, the two getting married, the scholar letting her down, and the unworthy husband being given a good beating in the end." They are never tired of these stories because these stories indeed are imbued with the traditional virtues of the Chinese nation, virtues that should still be carried forward. In the final analysis, this is also the basic story line of *Yearning*. The second mode was: Chinese audiences have always enjoyed watching stories about losing and going in search of one's child because these stories contain the

kind of genuine affection that is passed on from one generation of the Chinese nation to another. A Taiwan film entitled *Mommy, Love Me Once More*, which had little to recommend it ideologically and artistically, became a sensation wherever it was screened mainly because it was a story of such human interest. The plot that runs through *Yearning*, that is, Wang Yaru and Luo Gang's search for their daughter, also falls into this category. The third mode was: Chinese audiences have always enjoyed watching stories about changes in family and matrimonial relations because from these they can see changes in people's values on love as time progresses. The film *Wild Mountains*, which won the Best Feature Film Award at the Sixth Golden Rooster Awards, is about two peasant couples "swapping partners" under the sweeping tide of rural reform. *Yearning* is basically about the complicated changes in the relationships between three couples (lovers): Liu Huifang and Wang Husheng, Luo Gang and Wang Yaru, Song Dacheng and Yuejuan. The only difference is that ever-changing social mores and the readjustment and evolution of people's sense of values over a period of nearly 20 years is merged with the plot.

In terms of structural arrangement, *Yearning*, as the first major production of indoor television drama, fully took into account the aesthetic attention span of audiences in watching a 50-episode serialized drama. Each episode centered on a few characters, scenes, and events. The beginning of each episode echoed the previous one, and each episode had its climax and suspense. Audiences were fascinated by the interlocking events and gradually unfolding plot, so much so that many cities found their streets deserted on the nights when *Yearning* was screened because people stayed home to watch the play.

The above experience accumulated by *Yearning* on the level of artistic creation is something we can go by in the creation of major indoor television dramas. Strictly speaking, it is mainly during the new period that television drama productions have registered a swift growth. In the course of their growth, they have drawn nourishment from literature, drama, and films. No doubt this nourishment has contributed positively toward the gradual maturity of teleplay language. Today, film techniques are used in the production of most television dramas, and this means increasing costs and investment. This is not compatible with our national conditions and financial capability. In order to resolve the pronounced contradiction between the huge demand for television programs and our limited ability to produce these programs, the practice of shooting television dramas indoors with camera-switching and synchronized sound recording techniques should be promoted. We should strive to give play to the superiority of television technology, shorten the production cycle, reduce costs, and increase efficiency. Working with simple and crude equipment, the *Yearning* production group showed their enterprising spirit and opened a new path of producing major indoor television dramas with "greater, faster, better, and more economic results," treating the studio

as a production base. The significance of this new approach is not to be underestimated, as it has created some valuable new experience for the reform of China's television drama production process.

III

Of course, nothing is all-perfect, and *Yearning* is by no means perfect. This can be seen from the fact that its second showing failed to produce the same kind of sensation as when the play premiered. When they finally sat down to do some sober reflection, an increasing number of viewers were able to point out the inadequacies of the play. In my opinion, we can find the cause of these inadequacies in the creative and ideological approaches of the scriptwriters.

The scriptwriters of *Yearning* once said that their script was the product of "chats." Put more precisely, they started off with "chats" on viewers' aesthetic psychology and then started writing by turning to their pool of experiences in life and emotions. The advantage of this creative approach is obviously quite different from the so-called "salon art" which claims to be "created for 21st century audiences." It comes closer to the aesthetic needs of contemporary audiences. However, if we take the aesthetic psychological demands of contemporary audiences as the starting point of creation and use this to tap our pool of experiences in life and emotions in creative writing, the following situation will arise: When the need to design the characters, plots, and livelihood patterns in accordance with viewers' aesthetic psychology tallies with the rich livelihood and emotional experience of the writers, the script will be well-conceived and lifelike and will beam with the charms of realism. This is the case with many of the scenes set in the Liu household. When the need to design the characters, plots and livelihood patterns in accordance with viewers' aesthetic psychology happens to fall in an area where the writers' lives and emotional experiences are at their weakest, or if the writers are biased or one-sided in their understanding of particular character types and lives, the script will appear straitjacketed, even conceptual. This is the case with many episodes set in the Wang household and in the images of Wang Husheng, Wang Yaru, and Wang Zitao. Viewers' aesthetic psychology is, after all, something secondary that belongs to the ideological category, and if it is misinterpreted as something primary in life and taken as the starting point in creation, then the aesthetic creation will, when the writers' experiences in life and emotion are insufficient, inevitably deviate from the materialist theory of reflection. If we sit through all 50 episodes of *Yearning*, we will not have any difficulty noticing that in the portrayal of the words and deeds of certain characters, the writers sometimes concerned themselves only with the logic of dramatic conflict in order to grab the attention of the audience, and went against the temperamental and psychological logic of those characters. (For instance, in depicting Liu Huifang, the incarnation of traditional virtues, throwing herself into the arms of Huo Gang, whom she knew had always loved Yaru, and tearfully recounting to him her

misfortune, it is not only contrary to the qualities of self-respect and self-strengthening in Huifang's personality, but goes against the moral code in the character's psychology. This episode only served to intensify the dramatic conflict: They were caught in the act by Tian Li, who acted as a go-between in the play. Tian Li told Yaru what she saw and this created complications in the plot.) Certain episodes and details also seemed contrived and implausible because they were overly concerned with dramatic effect. (For instance, for more than 30 episodes after Luo Gang's reappearance as Liu Yan's teacher, the central plot and conflicts basically served one purpose, that is, to prevent the persons concerned from discovering Xiaofang's identity. As the truth could have been revealed in one meeting and one sentence, it seems contrived to go against this logic of life and perpetuate the mystery.) All these resulted from the major mistake made by the scriptwriters in mistakenly taking the aesthetic psychological demands of audiences as the one and only starting point in creative writing.

Furthermore, although the aesthetic approach adopted by *Yearning* in pushing everything to extremes in the depiction of the temperament and fate of its characters has deeply moved audiences and aroused their emotions, it also means a certain degree of conceptualization and a tendency toward homogeneity in characterization. For instance, in the play Wang Husheng was depicted as a "pedantic intellectual" and a "jilter." Upon closer examination, the way he requited Liu Huifang's kindness with enmity, the abuse he hurled at her, which amounted to personal insults, and his abusive treatment of Xiaofang all appear to be "excessive" in artistic creation and give one the feeling of being logical but not real. Take Wang Yaru for another example. As the "nasty sister-in-law," her "nastiness" toward Xiaofang (whom she did not know was her own flesh-and-blood), Liu Huifang, and Song Dacheng seems inhuman and difficult to understand. It also gives one the feeling that such a temperament has been invented by the director rather than being a reflection of her own nature. Lu Xun, while affirming the value of the popular classical novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* in the history of Chinese literature, also pointed out that the treatment of characters had been "excessive," noting that "the good guys were depicted in such a way that they did not have a single flaw in their characters," and the same was true the other way round. He said that the author "wishes to make Liu Pei a kindly man, but draws a character who seems a hypocrite. Wanting to depict Zhuge Liang's wisdom, he makes him appear a sorcerer." (*A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*) This was also a case of "excessiveness" in aesthetic creation. *Yearning* is also flawed in this respect.

IV

On a deeper level, the "craze" of the *Yearning* craze is the large-scale discussions on culture, ideology, philosophy of life, and moral and ethical values, discussions that involve people from all walks of life. It is in this sense that the play was a sociocultural phenomenon of great profundity.

That a television drama could touch off discussions of such magnitude is something that goes beyond the significance of the play itself. These discussions are still going on, and the questions touched upon are wide-ranging. The views expressed mainly focus on the following two questions:

The first question is whether or not the attitude toward life and moral values embodied by Liu Huifang and Song Dacheng accord with the spirit of the times and are worthy of being eulogized and emulated.

Actually, it appears that the scriptwriters had been aware of this question from the start. They had repeatedly stated: "We are only writing about traditional moral values." "The moral values embodied by Liu Huifang are by no means the ultimate criterion of behavior." In my opinion, in order to suit the thematic requirements of a major indoor television drama, *Yearning* tried to reflect the changes over a 20-year period in the interpersonal relationships between the Liu, Wang, and Song families. It set the codes of conduct for the father, the mother, the husband, the wife, the elder sister, the younger brother, the friend, the neighbor, in other words, the moral norms for society as a whole. The play tried to reflect the changes in time through depicting changes in people's sense of values over these 20 years. This was the aesthetic angle of *Yearning*. From this perspective, whatever subjective intention the scriptwriters might have had, the play in fact affirmed and praised the set of moral values with society as the standard through the images of Liu Huifang and Song Dacheng, and negated and denounced the moral values with individuals as the standard. In other words, in handling the relationship between the individual and society, the practice of sacrificing more and seeking less is stressed. In the handling of the relationship between oneself and others, greater sincerity and less jealousy is stressed. In the handling of contradictions and conflicts, being strict with oneself and lenient toward others is stressed. This set of moral values represents the carrying forward of the traditional virtues of the Chinese nation under new historical conditions, and constitutes an important component of socialist collectivist moral values. How can we regard these as old moral values that are unworthy of being affirmed and praised?

Some people thought that Liu Huifang, who meekly submitted to oppression and endured humiliation, was lacking in the modern touch, and that Song Dacheng, who timidly yielded on all issues, was not manly. They did not subscribe to their philosophy of life. This is understandable. When we affirmed the moral values embodied by Liu and Song, we only had the development of socialist collectivist ethics in mind. It does not mean that we endorsed all their words and deeds. Artistic images are very complicated. There are bound to be gaps of one sort or another between artistic images and the ideal realm that should be esteemed. Liu Huifang is not in fact "the paragon of Chinese traditional virtues" as some people claimed. To be more precise, she is "the sum of traditional Chinese virtues and traditional

weaknesses that coexist with these virtues and have yet to be eliminated." She herself is the mirror of traditional moral values. She is the incarnation of an idealized set of moral values, but she is not a model for contemporary audiences, particularly contemporary youth, to learn from. Even Liu Huifang admitted that "there is an invisible hand out there, pulling me," so that "I seem to have accomplished nothing." This "invisible hand" is the negative factors in the traditional moral values that shaped the weaknesses in her temperament. As the title song said: "Who can tell me whether this is right or wrong?" Perhaps we should be more understanding toward the words and deeds of Liu Huifang in the given circumstances, and ponder them rather than simply passing judgment. In this way we could perhaps obtain some enlightening ideas for the development of socialist ideology and culture. As to Song Dacheng, who is not a reformer with an ideal to begin with, neither should we impose "Qiao Guangpu [0829 0342 2613]" character requirements on him, least of all take him as a model for how to behave.

The second question is whether or not *Yearning*, in its portrayal of Wang Husheng, Wang Yaru, Wang Zitao, and other intellectuals, has, on the aesthetic level, made some errors in its assessment of the value of life.

On this question, the reaction among intellectuals, particularly high-level ones, is particularly sensitive. In my opinion, two errors in the portrayal of intellectuals are worthy of our attention. One is the tendency to turn a blind eye to the historical position occupied, and the role played, by intellectuals as a part of the working class in socialist modernization since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, still treating them as "the stinking ninth category" and as "targets of reform." The other is the tendency to ignore the fact that intellectuals must integrate themselves with workers and peasants and to depict them as spiritual nobles who stand taller than the rest of us. Has *Yearning* made the first of these two errors in any way? As noted above, there is indeed room for improvement in the way intellectuals are portrayed in *Yearning*. This is probably due to a lack of experience of life and emotions on the part of the scriptwriters, or because they had not taken sufficient notice of the new fruits of thinking on the historical position and role of intellectuals in the new period. Take the portrayal of Wang Yaru for instance. Because the scriptwriters had already placed a weight which symbolized " nastiness" on their aesthetic scale when portraying Wang Yaru, the admirable enterprising spirit and steadfast pursuit of love we see in this intellectual who grew up under the red flag of the People's Republic not only were not given the aesthetic expression and aesthetic affirmation they deserved, but were unfairly criticized. On the one hand, the positive elements in the character of the intellectual Wang Yaru, namely, those traditional moral values of the Chinese nation that urgently need to be replenished and perfected, are inappropriately negated on the aesthetic level. On the other hand, the negative elements in the character of the ordinary worker

Liu Huifang, namely, those traditional moral values of the Chinese nation that need to be abandoned and reformed, are objectively and inappropriately affirmed on the aesthetic level. In addition, the homogenous and flat character of Wang Husheng and the excessively didactic image of Wang Zitao also leave much to be desired in the play.

Nonetheless, one flaw cannot obscure the splendor of the jade. *Yearning* will still have its unique place and value in the history of television drama development for the year 1990, and will contrast well with *Fortress Besieged*, adapted from the novel of the same name by Mr. Qian Zhongshu, in the history of contemporary Chinese literature. One is a healthy and popular masterpiece that represents the latest accomplishments of television drama artists in setting great store by the study of viewers' aesthetic psychology and striving to bring their works closer to life. The other is a serious and refined work of art that signals the latest aesthetic attainment of television drama in its cry for sustenance from literature. *Yearning* and *Fortress Besieged* have an important bearing on the further improvement of Chinese television drama in terms of ideological content and aesthetic level. Together they indicate a bright and colorful future for the socialist art of television drama.

Socialism's Superiority as Seen From Shandong's Development

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[Article by Jiang Chunyun (1203 2504 0061)]

[Text] Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out, "The newborn socialist system has experienced twists and turns in the course of its development. However, history has proved, and continues to prove, that the socialist system possesses a strong historical vitality and great viability."¹ The brilliant and tremendous achievements made by Shandong in its economic and social development in the 41 years since the founding of New China, particularly in the 10 years and more since implementation of the reform and open policy, fully testify to the fact that socialism has a superiority beyond comparison with capitalism.

I. Socialist Public Ownership System Has Greatly Emancipated Productive Forces

Marxism holds that the fundamental criterion for judging a social system is whether or not it can emancipate and develop the productive forces. This is a basic principle of Marxism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "The most fundamental task in this stage of socialism is to develop the productive forces. The superiority of socialism is embodied in the fact that its productive forces are more and better developed than those under capitalism."² The public ownership of the means of production is a fundamental trait of the socialist system. After nationwide liberation, a socialist economic system with public ownership as the main

body was gradually established. The establishment of the public ownership system has fundamentally eliminated the basic and inherent contradictions of capitalism, the state of anarchy in production, and periodic economic crises, thereby averting the massive wastage and destruction of the social productive forces. The laborers have become the masters of the state and of the means of production. Exploitation and oppression have been eliminated, and the enthusiasm of the laborers is greatly aroused. The emancipation and development of the productive forces have promoted economic prosperity and social progress. The once poor and backward Shandong has now become a place with initial prosperity.

The economy has developed by leaps and bounds. In old China, Shandong was a scene of devastation and destitution. On the eve of liberation, the total value of industrial and agricultural production in the province was only 2.922 billion yuan. Grain output totaled 8.7 million tons, averaging less than 200 kilograms per capita. The few industrial and mining enterprises in the province were in an impoverished state. Social unrest and disorder prevailed and prices were sky high. The people were living in dire poverty and large numbers of poverty-stricken peasants had to leave their native village and wander about as refugees. Millions and tens of millions of people were compelled to "brave the journey to the northeast" to eke out an existence. It was on this poor and backward basis that our socialist revolution and construction started. For 41 years, particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the people of the whole province have been working hard and waging arduous struggle under the leadership of the party to bring about earthshaking changes in Shandong. In 1990, the national income of the province amounted to 111.8 billion yuan, 25 times that of 1949, or an average annual increase of 8.3 percent. The value of industrial and agricultural production totaled 283.636 billion yuan, up 34 times, or a yearly increase of 9.1 percent. Industrial output value totaled 219.766 billion yuan, up 200 times, or a yearly increase of 13.81 percent. Agricultural output value totaled 63.87 billion yuan, up six times, or a yearly increase of 4.86 percent. Between 1951 and 1989, the industrial production indexes of capitalist countries were as follows: United States, 3.51 percent; Japan, 9.75 percent; Britain, 2.11 percent; and France, 4.05 percent. As for agricultural output value, the average annual growth rates were: United States, 1.53 percent; Japan, 1.41 percent; Britain, 1.88 percent; and France, 1.89 percent. It is true that there are incomparable factors between a province and a capitalist country, but as a part of the national economy, Shandong's economy is advancing at the same pace as the rest of the nation. It can thus be seen that the development of our socialist economy not only is not inferior to, but far exceeds the capitalist countries. It shows that the socialist system is far superior to the capitalist system.

The comprehensive economic strength has increased substantially and marked improvements have been

made in the conditions of agricultural production. The power of agricultural machinery totals 32.16 million kw, 3,200 times that in the early years of the People's Republic. The output of grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops is 3.1, 11, and 2.8 times higher than at the time of liberation. A comprehensive industrial system with energy, chemical engineering, metallurgical, building materials, machinery, electronic, textile, and food-processing industries as its pillars has taken shape in the province. There are 22,600 industrial enterprises with independent accounting and total assets exceeding 100 billion yuan, an increase of 100 times over the early years of the People's Republic. Annual power generation and the output of crude oil and steel are 211.8 times, 34.3 times, and 22,000 times respectively more than in those early years. Crude oil production started from scratch and now annual production exceeds 33.506 million tons. A transport network linking all parts of the province has initially taken shape, with 2,213 km of railroad and 40,800 km of roads being opened to traffic, up 1.5 times and 11.9 times respectively on the early years of the People's Republic. All townships, small towns, and 75.6 percent of villages are now accessible by roads. There are 25 coastal ports with an annual handling capacity of nearly 60 million tons. The province has five serviceable airports and 30 air routes. Underground oil pipelines have been completed totaling 1,706 km. These achievements were unthinkable in the Shandong of old China.

The closed and semi-closed economy is gradually turning into an open economy. In recent years, Shandong has established economic and trade ties with more than 150 countries and regions. In 1990, the value of export commodities purchased by the province totaled 11.29 billion yuan, 118.4 times more than in 1950. Export earnings totaled \$3.476 billion yuan, up 98.4 times. Considerable changes have taken place in the mix of export products, with the proportion of primary products gradually becoming smaller and the proportion of manufactured industrial goods showing a marked increase. The ties between Shandong's economy and the world economy and the international market are becoming closer.

Substantial progress has been made in science and technology. Before liberation, Shandong had few scientific and technological personnel and less than 10 research institutions. It did not have the capacity to carry out independent scientific and technological research and development. After 41 years of development, it now boasts 412 scientific research and technological development institutions owned by the whole people at and above the county level, employing a staff of 1.86 million. In the past 12 years in particular, scientific and technological development has seen rapid progress. Success has been achieved in 18,000 important scientific and technological projects of various types, 787 of which are up to international advanced standards. Scientific and technological progress has greatly promoted the development of the productive forces. Over the past 10 years, the technological progress factor was responsible for 35

percent of the newly increased industrial output value and grain production also owes 40 percent of its growth to the introduction of new varieties and new techniques of cultivation and management. In the past, a per mu yield of 200 kg was considered high. Now, the average per mu yield for the province as a whole is 556 kg. Huantai County has achieved an average per mu yield of 1,020 kg and has become the first county north of the Chiangjiang River to achieve a yield of one ton.

II. Socialism Has Greatly Aroused Enthusiasm of Laborers and Promoted Common Prosperity of Whole People

After the establishment of the socialist public ownership system, the means of production are collectively owned by the whole people or laborers and the aim of production is to continuously fulfill the growing material and cultural needs of the people. Thus, exploitation and oppression are fundamentally eliminated. Economic emancipation ensures political equality. The fact that laborers have become masters of the state and of society has greatly stimulated the enthusiasm of the masses. The broad masses of the people have thus plunged into the mighty movement of socialist construction as masters of the country. Under extremely difficult conditions, and by relying on the vigorous working zeal of the masses, the people won one great victory after another and continuously won new victories in socialist construction. In different periods of socialist construction, group after group of exemplary personages and advanced models have emerged who worked selflessly, who were willing to devote themselves to the cause, and who worked with a will and an enterprising spirit to make the country strong. In the 1950's, the cadres and the masses of Xiadingjia, Huangxian County, transformed barren hills into fields, built dams, and harnessed rivers, thereby turning their poor mountain ravine into a land of rice and grain. In the 1960's, hundreds of thousands of petroleum workers gathered on the shores of the Bohai Sea and the Huanghe River. Working with their backs to the sky and their feet on the wasteland, they waged a great battle for oil. After nearly 30 years of hard work, they turned this wasteland into China's second largest petroleum base with an annual production of over 33 million tons and promoted the comprehensive development of the Huanghe Delta as a whole. In the 1980's, nine party members in Jiu Jianpeng village, Pingyi County, led the masses in changing the backward appearance of the village. During the next five years, they built roads, erected power transmission lines, and drew water up the hill, thereby initially changing the conditions of production. Per capita income soared from less than 200 to 900 yuan. The village thus became a renowned advanced model in eradicating poverty and becoming rich. These represented and epitomized the enterprising spirit and spirit of hard work and plain living of the Shandong people. It is due to this spirit that the economic development of socialism has inexhaustible internal drive.

Socialist public ownership precludes the possibility of seizing the fruit of other people's labor without compensation through possession of the means of production and distribution according to work has become a fundamental principle for the distribution of socialist consumption funds. It is only through honest labor that people can get the material rewards they deserve. People were guided and encouraged to work hard, keep forging ahead, give full scope to their own enthusiasm and creativity and to maintain the vitality and viability of the productive forces on the basis of this system. In the early years of the People's Republic, the principle of distribution according to work was gradually implemented in all sectors of society. This aroused the enthusiasm of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and people of all walks of life, and promoted the development of the economy. For some time afterward, due to deviations in the guiding ideology, the principle of distribution according to work was distorted and egalitarianism and "everybody eating from the same big pot" were practiced. This dampened the enthusiasm of the people and seriously affected the development of the economy. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our Party has summed up experience and lessons in this regard and firmly implemented the principle of distribution according to work. The output-related system of contract responsibility on a household basis has been implemented in the rural areas; the responsibility system of contracted management has been implemented in enterprises; and production, performance, and the interests of laborers are directly linked. The enthusiasm of the vast numbers of laborers is unprecedentedly high and the productive forces are developing at high speed. This shows that the principle of distribution according to work is an intrinsic rule and inevitable requirement of socialism. When this principle is upheld, the superiority of the socialist system can be fully brought into play.

The socialist public ownership system has ensured equality between man and man based on distribution, according to work on the question of material well-being, and has eliminated the source of polarization between rich and poor, thereby promoting common prosperity for all the people. Since the founding of the People's Republic, particularly over the past 10 years, the livelihood of the people of Shandong has seen great improvement. In 1990, the per capita national income of the province reached 1,343 yuan, 20 times that of 1949. Total per capita industrial and agricultural output value amounted to 2,279.6 yuan, up 17.6 times. Per capita grain consumption was 429 kg, more than double that in the early years of the People's Republic. Per capita consumption amounted to 680 yuan, up 16 times on 1949. Per capita housing space for urban and rural inhabitants was 10.5 square meters and 18.5 square meters respectively. Of course the standard is still not high in terms of per capita income. However, because our distribution is more fair and rational, and prices are low, the actual living standards of the people is far higher than in countries with the same per capita income level.

After 40 years of hard work, the province has eliminated kala-azar, filariasis, and malaria which had plagued the province for centuries. It has also basically eliminated the threat of endemic diseases and controlled their spread. The mortality rate has dropped from 12.2 per thousand to 6.96 per thousand, and the average life span has been lengthened from 35 years to 71.72 years. Gone are the miserable days when people did not have enough to cover their bodies or to keep their stomachs full.

The socialist public ownership system has determined that the fundamental interests of the state, the collective, and the individuals coincide and that the fundamental interests of members of society in different regions and sectors also coincide. Thus, the state can regulate the distribution of national income in a planned way in accordance with the long-term and overall interests of the people and localities and people becoming well-off first can consciously help the less fortunate develop their economies and improve their livelihood. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our province has done a lot to help the poor. This includes support in terms of policies and materials, the organization of support geared to needs, the advance of subsidies to 48 financially subsidized counties, and giving support to the development of production and the tapping of financial resources. Through our efforts, the 15 poverty-stricken counties in our province increased their total rural output value from 5.682 billion yuan in 1984 to 14.242 billion yuan in 1990. Their total industrial output value increased by 2.72 times and the per capita net income of peasants increased by 232 yuan. The overwhelming majority of poverty-stricken households have secured a life with enough food and clothing.

III. Socialism Can Ensure Planned, Proportionate Development of National Economy and Muster Forces To Accomplish Big Things

Keeping various sectors of the national economy in appropriate proportions is an objective requirement of socialized mass production. The public ownership of the means of production, by integrating different sectors of society into an entity, can ensure the rational distribution of social resources in the whole society, consciously readjust the structure between different sectors of the national economy, between industries and between enterprises, as well as the product mix, and maintain harmony between various major economic sectors. In this way, the national economy can develop in a planned and proportionate way. Within a given period, it can concentrate financial, material, and manpower resources to solve major problems having a vital bearing on the overall development of the national economy. The fact that Shandong's national economy has developed in a sustained, steady, and coordinated way during the 41 years since the founding of the People's Republic is an important manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system.

The various major sectors of the national economy are optimized continuously in the course of readjustment.

Shandong resolutely implemented the unified plans of the state to ensure overall harmony between its own and the nation's economies. On the other hand, it attached importance to efforts to understand the conditions of the province, suited measures to local conditions, gave full play to its superiority, and promoted the coordinated development of agriculture, light and heavy industries, and of primary, secondary, and tertiary industries. At the time of liberation, Shandong's agricultural output value accounted for 68.69 percent of the total value of industrial and agricultural production. Today, the proportion of agricultural output has been reduced to 22.52 percent and Shandong's economy has turned from a backward agricultural economy into one with industry as the leading factor. Of course, there were times when imbalances occurred between major economic sectors but the socialist system had created the preconditions for the conscious readjustment of these disproportions. Our three previous economic readjustments had all produced good results. Since 1988 in particular, Shandong has overcome difficulties and maintained the steady development of the economy by conscientiously implementing the policy of improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order, and deepening the reform. Compared with 1989, GNP rose 5.3 percent, national income gained 5 percent, agricultural output was up 5.2 percent, industrial and agricultural output value increased 13.4 percent, and revenue added 7.36 percent in 1990.

The socialist public ownership system has enabled us to concentrate financial and material resources and complete large numbers of key construction projects. In the 41 years since the founding of the People's Republic, Shandong has invested 86.4 billion yuan in the construction of a large number of backbone projects. Over the past 10 years in particular, Shandong has made unprecedented achievements in the building of key construction projects. Between 1989 and 1990, investment in capital construction in the state sector totaled 62.277 billion yuan, 2.58 times the total invested in the previous 30 years. Today, Shandong has 1,116 large and medium enterprises and an effective irrigated acreage of over 60 million mu. A transport network linking all parts of the province has basically taken shape. These key construction projects have played a decisive role in the economic development of the whole province. In 1990, tax and profit handed over by large and medium sized state-owned enterprises accounted for 33.8 percent of local revenue. Their development has also brought along the development of large numbers of medium and small enterprises and projects. Today, 40 percent of the output value of township and small town enterprises in the province is generated by products diffused by state-owned enterprises or associated operations. Without the socialist system, it would have been impossible to complete such a large number of key construction projects, give shape to the present economic system, and attain the present level of development within such a short time.

The superiority of the public ownership system in mobilizing all forces to "fight a battle of annihilation" has found salient expression in farmland capital construction. The people of Shandong used to say, "We must support the key construction projects the same way we resisted the enemy and supported the front in the past." "Diverting water from the Huanghe River to Qingdao" is one of the biggest irrigation projects in the history of Shandong. The canal, with a total length of over 300 km, cuts its way across four cities and prefectures and 10 counties and districts. It involved the removal of 6.1 million cubic meters of earth and stone and the permanent appropriation of some 60,000 mu of land. More than 20 provinces and cities across the country, and relevant state departments, have given energetic support to the construction of this mammoth project. People's Liberation Army units stationed in Shandong have also played an active part. The people of Shandong have the cardinal principles in mind and take the overall situation into account. They took part in the construction on their own initiative without asking for reward or insisting on the fulfillment of certain conditions. Close to a million civilian workers pitched into the work at different times. The cities, counties, and districts along the canal eagerly met the construction needs by ensuring the supply of the necessary financial resources and manpower. As a result, this project for the benefit of the people was completed ahead of schedule with high standards and top quality and the serious water shortage which troubled Qingdao has been ameliorated. More than 600,000 people living in high-chlorine districts can now drink the sweet-tasting water of the Huanghe River. This was a vivid portrayal of the great organizational and mobilization power of the socialist system.

IV. The Socialist System, Capable of Self-Regulation, Self-Perfection, Can Continuously Open Up Broad Horizons for Economic, Social Development

Fundamentally speaking, the establishment of the socialist system on the basis of the public ownership system is in keeping with the objective requirements for the development of the productive forces. Although there are still contradictions between socialist production relations and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base, the nonantagonistic nature of the basic contradictions of socialism determines that reform can be carried out in a planned, systematic, and orderly way to eliminate the drawbacks in the system. This kind of reform does not mean negation of the socialist system. Rather, it is an act of self-perfection. It is precisely because socialism has this ability to self-regulate and self-perfect that it can continuously resolve the contradictions between the production relations and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base, and open up broader horizons for the development of the productive forces and for social progress. The practice of reform and opening up over the past 10 years fully demonstrates this superiority of the socialist system.

The rural reform has made breakthroughs and achieved great success. The system of contracted responsibility, in its different forms, has greatly aroused the enthusiasm of the peasants for production and called forth great vitality in the rural economy. In 1984, total agricultural output value was 84.1 percent more than in 1978, representing an annual growth rate of 10.7 percent; total grain output was up 32.9 percent, or 4.9 percent a year; total cotton output was up by 10.2 times, or 49.6 percent a year; per capita net income for the peasants soared from 114.56 yuan to 395 yuan, an increase of over 46 yuan a year. After 1985, in the light of the new situation in rural reform and the development of the planned commodity economy, and on the basis of stabilizing the contract responsibility on a household basis system, efforts were made to try out new reforms aimed at improving dual management, developing the collective economy and socialized service systems, and so on. In recent years, horizontal community service systems and vertical specialized service systems have been established in most rural areas. These systems have promoted the development of the rural economy and of various social undertakings. They are demonstrating great vitality and are welcomed by the masses.

The reform of the urban economic system is gradually being deepened. Over the past 10 years, major efforts were made to enlarge the decisionmaking powers of enterprises, and to introduce the contracted managerial responsibility system for enterprises and the system of overall leadership by the factory director. These have brought about the combination of responsibility, power, and interests and further aroused the enthusiasm of enterprises, staff, and workers. In 1990, the total industrial output value of the province was 4.15 times more than in 1978, representing an average annual growth rate of 14.6 percent. This period saw the fastest and best industrial growth in Shandong. Conscientious efforts were also made to: Reform the planning, financial, and commodity circulation systems; narrow the scope of mandatory planning; gradually establish and nurture the market mechanism; break down the barriers between regions and departments; and develop horizontal economic ties. At the same time, reforms were also carried out on the systems of labor, employment, housing, pricing, finance, and so on.

The province is becoming more and more open to the outside world. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Shandong has adhered to the policy of opening to the outside world on the basis of self-reliance. A total of seven cities and 54 counties (urban districts) have become open economic zones. Their area and population accounts for 40 percent of the provincial total. These places have pushed forward the reform of their foreign economic relations and trade structures, instituted the contracted managerial responsibility system for foreign trade, developed various forms of integration of industry and trade, gradually formulated and perfected policies to attract foreign investment, and created a suitable investment environment for foreign merchants. Last year, Shandong's

exports were up 3.2 times on 1978. As many as 674 new contracts for the introduction of foreign investment were concluded and \$310 million were actually invested. Over the past 12 years, contracts involving \$2.177 billion in foreign investment have been concluded and \$1.123 billion were actually introduced into the province.

Reform of the political system is steadily under way. According to the arrangement by the party Central Committee, and in keeping with the need to strengthen and improve the party's leadership, perfect the legal system, and better carry forward democracy, reform of the political system is being launched step by step. The functions of the party and the government have been further clarified. With each attending to its own duties while maintaining close cooperation one with the other, it is possible to improve and strengthen the party's leadership and effectively exercise the administrative functions of the government. In the reform of the political system, attention is being paid to the appropriate delegation of authority and interests to stimulate the vitality of the grassroots levels. The authority of the county government in the management of manpower and financial and material resources is gradually being expanded. This has increased the capacity of county governments to control and regulate the economy and has promoted economic development. In 1990, the total industrial and agricultural output value at the county level and below accounted for over 70 percent of the provincial total.

In the 12 years since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Shandong has continuously reformed and perfected its economic management system while upholding the basic systems of socialism. The Shandong economy as a whole has seen a historic leap, with GNP increasing from 22.91 billion yuan in 1978 to 130.7 billion yuan in 1990, an average annual growth rate of 9.9 percent. National income increased from 19.55 billion yuan to 111.84 billion yuan, averaging 9.3 percent a year. Total industrial and agricultural output value increased from 39.904 billion yuan to 283.636 billion yuan, averaging 12.8 percent a year. Such a rate of development is not only unheard of in Shandong in old China, but also shocks the developed capitalist countries of today. This fully shows that in the course of its development, socialism can regulate and perfect itself and maintain its exuberant vitality.

V. Socialism Has Great Political Superiority and Can Fundamentally Ensure Correct Orientation and Smooth Development of the Economy and Various Social Undertakings

The fundamental aim of socialism is to bring about common prosperity for the whole people and ultimately realize communism on the basis of developing the productive forces. It is only with the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that the CPC, which has flesh-and-blood ties with the people, can shoulder the historical mission of leading the cause of building socialism. The party's leadership is our greatest political

superiority; it is the fundamental guarantee for winning a victory in socialist construction. Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee we have, under the leadership of the party Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin at the core, conscientiously implemented the guidelines of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's directive on "grasping with both hands" and further strengthened and improved the party's leadership. As the situation in Shandong shows, leading cadres at various levels have gradually raised their Marxist theoretical level and cemented closer ties between the party and the masses. The role of party organizations at various levels as the leadership core and fighting bastion has been strengthened. The party has the confidence and the ability to lead the people of the whole province to win one new victory after another in the modernization drive.

The socialist public ownership system has laid the economic foundation for the democratic political system. Since the First Shandong Provincial People's Congress in 1954, the people's congress system has been perfected. When county and township people's deputies were elected in 1990, the turnout rate reached 93.12 percent. Among the deputies to the Seventh Provincial People's Congress, 30.7 percent were workers and peasants while 18 percent were intellectuals. The masses enjoyed extensive democratic rights as masters of the country. After the founding of the People's Republic, particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the party has been steadily strengthened and developed in our province. Democratic parties and people without party affiliation took up 25 percent, 33.4 percent, and 46 percent respectively of the seats of provincial, city, and county (urban district) people's congresses, and accounted for over 60 percent of the seats of people's political consultative conferences at the three levels. More than 4,800 of them have been appointed to head local governments, government departments, and enterprises and establishments. In this way, they are able to play their role in democratic consultation and in supervision.

The tremendous political superiority of socialism also finds expression in the fact that it can create spiritual civilization beyond comparison with capitalism, can establish interpersonal relations of unity, mutual assistance, and friendship, and can foster better educated and self-disciplined new people with high ideals and moral integrity, as well as noble customs and habits, in society. Over the past decade and more, 466,000 units have been given citations by authorities above the county level as civilized units. Among them, 627 were cited by the province. Some 190,000 people were assessed as labor models and advanced personages. Among these, 191 were recipients of the National "1 May" Labor Medal and 68 were cited as national labor models. Last year, the Huanghe River Delta was hit by catastrophic flooding. Other places in Shandong which had reaped bumper

harvests eagerly donated money and goods to help the people in the calamity-stricken areas restore production and rebuild their home towns.

Under the socialist system, there is no fundamental conflict of interests between people. Thus, social stability can be maintained and the people can live and work in peace and contentment. After the founding of the People's Republic, Shandong was able to quickly put an end to the disorder of the old society, as did other parts of the country. The tumors left behind by the feudal society, such as prostitution, drugs, gambling, and local bandits, were removed, and the people realized their long-cherished dream of being able to live and work in peace and contentment. Following implementation of the reform and open policy and the development of the commodity economy, coupled with the weakening of ideological and political work, the evil phenomena from the old society was resurrected and public order was upset. In recent years, efforts have been made to bring public order under comprehensive control and to ensure its basic stability. In 88.6 percent of enterprises and units at and above the county level, and in 83.6 percent of townships and villages, no criminal cases have been reported for years. This has created an excellent social environment for economic construction. Of course, there is still room for improvement in our public order and further efforts must be made to step up the work.

History has proved, and continues to prove, that socialism accords with the laws governing the development of the human society and is the objective inevitability of social progress. Although its material foundation is still not very strong, it has exuberant vitality. As long as we firmly and unswervingly adhere to the party's basic line, we will definitely be able to give full scope to the superiority of the socialist system and create brighter material and spiritual civilizations.

Footnotes

1. "Speech at the Meeting Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the PRC."
2. *Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics*, Revised Edition, pp. 52-53.

Thoughts on Solving China's Employment Problem

HK1305034191 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 7, Apr 91 pp 26-29

[Article by Zheung Qidong (5445 0796 2639) and Zheng Jinhan (6774 3866 7281)]

[Text] The employment problem is not only an economic problem but also a social problem and it needs our careful and proper handling. Since the founding of the Republic, China has met four high peaks in unemployment. In the course of solving the first three unemployment peaks, China accumulated a lot of experience. Since 1989, China's urban labor force unemployment

has begun to enter the fourth high peak period. In 1991, there are 11 million people in the urban labor force requiring employment. Facing the new high unemployment peak we need to sum up experiences and lessons and continue to thoroughly implement the systems and methods that proved effective. At the same time, we must take stock of the current new conditions and new special features, go deep into studying a strategy to solve the employment problem and use comprehensive improvement measures that are workable and practical. In this regard we wish to raise the following points.

I. Selecting Rational Employment Targets

For quite a long time, people have taken a zero unemployment rate or "full employment" as the ideal employment target. Actual practice has shown that solely and simply seeking to maintain an excessively low unemployment rate may produce certain passive consequences, that is: Disregarding whether or not the enterprise unit requires it, relying on administrative measures to "squeeze in" staff, causing overemployment in the enterprise, lowering growth in the labor productivity rate, and increasing expenses for salaries, wages, and welfare benefits, thus adding to difficulties in operation and management. Once the social reserve of labor force appears to be insufficient, a "seller's market" will be formed in labor force supply and demand. For example, several years ago, the unemployment rate in certain mid-sized and large cities and towns fell below 1 percent and a portion of the unemployed became very choosy in their selection of employment, thus creating excessive fussy behavior in the conduct of selecting employment. This made it difficult for some of the industry, trade, and work projects to find workers and employees.

At present, China is in a high peak of employment. The new employment target to be fixed should suit the current economic development level. The actual condition of the improvement and rectification of the national economy should be considered and the unemployment rate should be controlled within the scope of society's ability to bear. The principle of seeking truth from facts should be firmly insisted on and if the unemployment rate can be controlled within a suitable scope, then an active and positive role can be generated on the stability and development of the entire national economy. This is because maintaining a suitable reserve of labor force is beneficial to readjusting the industrial structure, training up a reserve labor force, and thereby enabling the creation of conditions for large-scale conversion of the country's production and circulation from extensive to intensive operation. At present, many people believe that the country's bearable unemployment rate is 3-4 percent which, compared with the past guiding thought of seeking a zero unemployment rate, conforms more to the country's current stage of national conditions. The reasons are that: First, during the 40 years since the founding of the Republic, the people's standard of living has been comparatively elevated and the economic ability to bear unemployment has been enhanced both in society and the family. Outstanding examples are that

the family's burden coefficient has been greatly lowered, for instance, the population burden coefficient of rural labor force has dropped from 2.53 in 1978 to 1.65 in 1989; and for the corresponding period, the population burden coefficient of the employed in urban areas also dropped from 2.06 to 1.78. At present, some unemployed youths depend on the family for economic support. In their selection of employment posts, they make meticulous calculations and would rather spend more time seeking jobs which they believe to be suitable for themselves and are not too anxious to obtain employment. Second, after more than 10 years of economic reform, public tolerance toward unemployment has gradually increased and consequently the psychological burden they carry has also been stabilized. Third, although the country's unemployment insurance system and the entire employment service structure are still imperfect, a set of methods has been initially established and has displayed its role. Examined as a whole, it can be seen that the country's current socioeconomic conditions are far better than at any earlier period. Under the new conditions it is extremely necessary in solving the country's employment problem to raise the unemployment rate to 3-4 percent and to change the previous guiding thought in employment of carrying out a wholly unified coverage and unified distribution system.

II. Concurrent With Controlling the Total Number Employed, Pay Attention to Employment Structural Readjustment

Continuing the planned control of population growth is the country's basic national policy and is also the fundamental measure to ease the pressures of employment and unemployment in the country. In the long run, population reproduction has operational cycles, and labor force resources also have their ups and downs. The appearance of a high peak in population growth will form a supply high peak in the newly rising labor force. Therefore, controlling population growth according to the national conditions to control the supply and demand equilibrium in the aggregate labor resources is not only beneficial to macroscopic adjustment and control of employment and unemployment, but is also helpful to the stability and development of the economy.

Under normal conditions, on the basis of production development, constant readjustment of the allocation and distribution of labor force resources is an important tactic and measure to coordinate employment and unemployment, including the solution of the problems of enterprises' too plentiful labor force and rural areas' surplus labor force. In actual economic practice, we can, with due consideration for the conditions of shortages and abundance of labor force in different localities, enterprises, industries, trades, and work projects, work out the plan for an effective and flexible counterpolicy or measure which, concurrently with controlling the total numbers employed, carries out the structural and multiple regulation of employment and unemployment and strives to raise employment quality and the comprehensive economic effects. For example, we can strive to

achieve the above-mentioned targets through such important measures as establishing an urban dual employment structure, readjusting the periodic employment structure in the interflow of labor forces between the urban and rural areas, piloting the opening up of labor force resources, utilizing circuitous employment structure of an alternate process, and so forth.

The so-called urban dual employment structure refers to the structure in which the labor forces of large and medium-sized enterprises and of small enterprises flow separately, and the economies of the capital and technology type and of the labor-intensive type are integrated. Generally speaking, the capital, equipment, and technical strengths of large and medium-sized enterprises are comparatively strong. Although the labor force they use is large in absolute terms, the means of production employed is also large. In a country's economic construction, this category of enterprises bears the heavy task of strengthening the gross strength of the national economy and, the higher the development trend in the intensity in capital and technology, the less in proportion is the absorption of labor force. As for the vast number of small enterprises, they are mostly labor intensive. Their input of capital and equipment is comparatively small and they possess all the more the strong point of the placement of extra labor force. Moreover, with the large number of these small enterprises, the labor force they can absorb is rather considerable. Hence, in the course of solving the labor employment problem, we should increasingly display the strong point of the small enterprises' ability to employ more people. Naturally, labor-intensive enterprises likewise should pay attention to raising the economic effects.

So-called readjustment of the periodic employment structure of the interflow of urban and rural labor force resources refers to the fact that, while scientific and technical personnel are relatively concentrated in the urban and rural areas that possess plentiful ordinary labor forces, on the precondition of strengthening the basic role of agriculture and striving to guide the peasants to "develop agriculture with science and technology," we should, in a planned manner, organize the urban scientific and technical contingents to proceed to the countryside to render labor services with compensation and concurrently make a suitable volume of rural labor force go to the urban areas to export labor services. This forms the interflow and mutual filling in of urban and rural labor force resources. At present, in the urban areas, certain industries, trades, and work projects embody a large demand for peasant workers, whereas the large volume of plentiful labor force in the rural areas awaits the opportunity to move. To adequately import rural labor force is beneficial to the development of the urban economy. At the same time, against the current situation in the rural areas of the shortage of hands in the sectors of science, education, culture, and public health, and in the various industries and trades, encouraging urban specialized technical personnel to participate by

such means as holding concurrent posts in rural construction will help to accelerate the process of industrialization and scientific and technical progress in the rural areas.

The so-called piloting the development of labor force resources and utilizing the circulating employment structure of an alternate process refers to the work of subjecting the labor force resources in separate periods, batches, and levels to study and training, learning new knowledge in specialized technology, and alternately changing the studies. By so doing, it is possible to ease the stringent state of the employment posts and, on the other hand, to improve the quality of the labor force, enabling it to suit the demand of the development of science and technology and storing the reserved strength for the sustained and stable growth of the economy.

III. Concurrent With Guiding Rational Interflow of Labor Resources Between Urban and Rural Areas, Advocate Digestion and Absorption of Surplus Labor Force Within Rural Areas

Compared with the past, the employment high peak this time has the largest characteristic of concurrently facing the pressure of urban employment and the large-scale transfer of the rural labor force. At present, in order to treat the urban and rural employment problem separately, government has adopted the necessary measures, such as restricting the volume of rural labor force entering urban areas, even to the extent of partly removing the peasant workers from the urban areas. We should, along with rationally guiding the appropriate interflow of labor forces between urban and rural areas, vigorously advocate that the rural areas' surplus labor force be digested and absorbed as much as possible within the rural areas. Seen as a whole, solving the employment problem of the surplus labor force in the rural areas can be the adoption of the measures of external transfer and internal absorption. External transfer includes transfer to labor markets in the urban areas and abroad, and internal absorption consists mainly of developing, aside from grain and cotton production, various kinds of plantation trades, rearing and breeding trades (animal husbandry, fisheries), and township and town enterprises, as well as establishing a system of rendering services to agricultural production. During the improvement and rectification period, the potential of transferring labor force to the urban industries is not great. Whereas, seen either from the long or the short term, absorption by township and town enterprises of the plentiful rural labor force has great potential. Hence, we should proceed from the two points of "leaving the farmland but not leaving the countryside" and "leaving neither the farmland nor the countryside" to consider the employment problem of the rural labor force, do the utmost to lead the rural areas' plentiful labor force to enter the township and town enterprises, develop market town construction, and take the road of urban and rural joint modernization and industrialization. In accordance with existing rural conditions, we should fully utilize the existing machinery equipment

and technology in the township and town enterprises to further develop the initial processing and intensive processing of the agricultural and sideline products. Through processing agricultural sideline products, we can develop such other industries and trades as the preservation, storage, packing, and transport of food products and thus provide the peasants with more employment opportunities for leaving the farmland but not the countryside.

Considering the actual conditions in rural areas, for a considerable length of time we should lead the peasants to advance in the direction of widening and deepening agriculture and to absorb the plentiful labor force from the rural areas. The concrete measures are: First, open up new agricultural resources. According to statistics by relevant departments, Chian currently has 500 million mu of barren land fit for agriculture, of which 120 million mu of cultivated land can be developed; in addition, there are 20 million mu of sea beaches not yet utilized, over 30 million mu of fresh water for rearing and breeding, over 1 billion mu of barren hills and mountain slopes, and 700 million mu of grassland fit for animal husbandry. Regarding these agricultural resources, not only is a large volume of labor force needed during the development period, but also, subsequent to their development, they can absorb a sizable volume of labor force. Second, tapping the hidden production potential of plantation trades and vigorously transforming medium- and low-grade farmland. China has 1.1 billion mu of medium- and low-grade farmland which occupy 70 percent of the total cultivated land area; the per mu yield of grain from medium- and low-grade farmland is about 50 kg; for cotton, it is about 25 kg. Transforming them and raising soil fertility and per mu yield will still require the input of a large volume of agricultural labor force. In 1989, Daan City, Jilin Province, educated more than 20,000 returned rural workers, in separate lots and periods, in scientific farming technique and counted on them as the backbone in leading the neighboring peasants to transform their low-grade fields. In only a few months' time, over 70,000 mu of saline-alkaline land were transformed into paddy fields. Third, introducing new biological technology into agricultural production and striving to make "developing agriculture with science and technology" and expanded agricultural and expanded reproduction by intension continue to advance to higher levels. Available research materials show that if each agricultural worker in China goes to work 305 times a year, each time is equivalent to one labor unit, and if all cultivated land production farming was carried out using biological technology integrated with labor-intensive input, then, on the basis of the degree of current labor intensity, all the cultivated land will need to be replenished with 98.60 million agricultural workers. In China, even in localities with few operational lines, if attention is paid to devoting efforts to intensifying agriculture, much can be accomplished. Fourth, establishing specialized departments and contingents serving agricultural production and doing a good job in management and operation. It is

necessary to establish servicing teams to vigorously develop and engage in farmland water conservancy construction, forestry construction, particularly afforestation on barren hills and mountain slopes and the cultivation of young plants, seeds, fertilizer materials, feeding materials, and machines needed by the various plantation units. We should strive to achieve the objectives of providing relatively systematic services to agricultural production and circulation, promoting the specialized division of work in agriculture and, at the same time, being able to digest and absorb more labor force in various aspects.

IV. Gradually Reduce Low-Grade Labor Force Supply; Enhance Quality of Workers

An important measure to gradually reduce the supply of low-grade labor force is to restrict and stop middle school and primary school students from leaving school and going into farming or commercial trades. In recent years, the phenomenon of middle school and primary school students leaving school has been extremely serious. Their numbers can be counted in the millions. This is not only harmful to the healthy development of the next generation, but also greatly increases employment pressures. In addition, in China each year a large number of children of school age do not go to school. Of these, over 2 million girls are known to fit in this category and are competing for labor employment too early. Hence, to strictly push the nine-year education system, including establishing professional middle schools, is a major task which not only concerns whether or not the quality and caliber of the citizens can be further improved, but also has a close bearing on the problem of labor employment.

To improve the quality and caliber of the workers, the state, society, and enterprises must highly regard the development of education, couple general education with professional education, and integrate adult education and professional training. In developing adult education we should coordinate with the actual needs of the various industries and trades, open up schools and institutes for professional advanced studies at the specialized middle school and specialized college levels, and actively try out on-the-job training and advanced studies so that each and every employee or worker, in the whole course of employment, has the opportunity to go through specialized scholastic examination for job promotion. Among the employed there should be a portion assigned to work and a portion subject to training and taking up advanced studies, alternately receiving on-the-job education, and thus constantly elevating their cultural quality and level in specialized technology and know-how. Concurrent with strengthening employment training and management, we should also systematize training for the unemployed and standardize their management. In short, we should improve the quality of the labor force by developing education and enable the composition of the supply layer of labor force resources to conform with the objective demands of economic development.

V. Employment of Economic Levers To Strengthen Macroeconomic Control

In view of the coming employment peak, we should strengthen the macroeconomic control of labor employment. For example, a macroeconomic supervision, adjustment, and control system over the social labor force should be instituted, and the planning, supervision, forewarning, regulation, and control of the social labor force by governments at various levels in the country should be strengthened. Hence, the state organ for the control of social labor wages should be perfected, employment channels should be smoothed out, and the problems of the supply and employment of social labor force resources should be incorporated into the medium-, long-, and short-term plans of the national economy and social development to ensure the planned and proportionate distribution and allocation of the social labor force. In addition, we should set up and perfect a social insurance system, including an unemployment insurance system, push legislation on the control of awaiting employment, employment, and unemployment, and so forth.

Concurrently with strengthening macroeconomic control, we should pay attention to displaying the positivism of the units employing personnel in the industries, trades, and enterprises; do a good job in market surveys of the labor force; and ameliorate the market regulation of labor resources. Herein, the use of economic levers, particularly price levers, is extremely important. We should readjust irrational prices, particularly by increasing the prices of agricultural products, mining products, raw materials, and energy. By means of price readjustment, it is possible to arouse the peasants' enthusiasm to devote their heart and soul to farming and thus strengthen the basic role of agriculture. In the plants, mines, and enterprises, we should, in a planned manner, gradually increase the salaries, wages, and welfare benefits of employees and workers assigned to hardship posts; adopt a preferential policy toward necessary and flexible income distribution; lead toward rational employment; and strive to solve the problem of structural imbalance.

Probing Several Questions Concerning Function of Education

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[Article by Yan Zhimin (7051 1807 3046) and Lei Kexiao (7191 0344 0876)]

[Text] The issue of what should be the function of education is important in the field of education theory. It is also a popular topic of discussion at the moment. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was held, our educational theorists began to hold discussions concerning this issue. They covered the subject in great depth and breadth and made great progress. The discussions helped build education science, contributed to the success of education reform, and

helped train people with "four-haves" for socialism. However, there are other problems remaining to be solved. We need to explore further in the theoretical field, after referring to our experience in education reform and always following Marxist guidance.

I. Reviewing the Essence of Education

The function of education is determined by the essence of education. If we want to understand the function of education, we must first comprehend what the essence of education is and find out the qualitative distinction that differentiates education from other matters. A few years ago, the educators in our country decided that they should initiate a series of discussions on the essence of education. They made this decision because they understood that actual experience was the only way that would lead them to the truth. They followed the guidance that said they must "open their minds, use their brains, seek truth from facts, and together look forward to the future." At the beginning the discussions focused on the question of whether education belonged to the superstructure or if it is an issue of productivity. No doubt the discussions have had a positive significance. As Lenin said: "What is meant by finding a 'definition'? It is because we need to relate a concept to a larger concept."¹ We want to define education and reveal its essence. Therefore we must first understand the concept of education and relate this particular concept to a wider concept. That is to say, we must look at the larger picture. Later the discussions went beyond the original boundaries. People began to question: Marx and Engels invented the theory concerning productivity and the relations of production, and also the theory concerning the relationship between the economic foundation and the superstructure, but why did they never bother to include education as an element of productivity or as part of the superstructure? This could not be accidental negligence on the part of Marx and Engels; there must be a real reason behind this. Then the participants in the discussions suggested that although the theory of productivity and production relations and the theory of economic foundation and superstructure described the basic boundaries and problems of human and social development, they were not all-inclusive theories. These theories did not explain every single social phenomenon. Language was an example of such a social phenomenon. Here two viewpoints emerged. One insisted that education belonged to neither productivity nor superstructure, the other said that education was both productivity and a part of the superstructure. The problem of categorizing education and the argument about the essence of education still hound us. Furthermore, there were people who believed that categorizing education meant more than defining education. Defining education only answered the question of what the relationship was between the sub-concept of education and the larger, general concept. This did not tell us about the qualitative differences between this sub-concept and other sub-concepts. These people believed that only when this question was solved could they proceed to reveal the complete essence of education.

What, then, is the essence of education? We think it is the means to communicate knowledge and experience, a social phenomenon for the training of people, and an activity that helps produce quality people. The reason human society can improve and develop is that men are involved in the activity of passing along their knowledge and experience. These two activities are manifested in two ways. First, men continue to pass their knowledge and experience to the next generation. In this way the fruits of human culture are accumulated gradually and the level of culture is eventually elevated. Second, through the activity of passing knowledge and experience, the cultural and scientific knowledge of man can be understood by the majority instead of a minority of people. When knowledge becomes common property the overall social and cultural standard will be improved. We call this activity education. This is our explanation of the essence of education. We adopt the most direct interpretation and viewpoint of its basic function. Moreover, education is a social phenomenon concerning the training of people. When a person is born, he is only a natural being. Although his following development is by and large determined by his heredity and is influenced by the natural environment, the kind of education he receives can make a major difference in his life. A society and a social class will, through education, consciously and conscientiously put pressure on the person receiving education, and try to influence his physical and mental development. The society and class want this person to have a certain ideology, morality, knowledge, and ability, and they want to mold him into someone the society and class need. Therefore, educational activity is connected with the socialization of each individual. It is a planned and goal-oriented activity, and it is a social phenomenon special to human society. If we define education as an activity for grooming and molding people, then clearly the essence of education is its definite purpose, direction, social meaning, and class significance. This explanation gives us a better idea of what education is. In a way, education can be considered a productive activity. Naturally, production here does not mean the production of material goods. It means the other kind of production, the production of quality in mankind itself. On the first page of *The Origins of Family, Private Ownership System, and Nation*, Engels pointed out clearly in his prologue that the production of man himself was a different kind of production, unrelated to the production of the means of livelihood. He also said, "According to the materialistic viewpoint, the essential factor that basically determines history is the production and reproduction in our daily life. There are two kinds of production. One is the production of the means of livelihood, such as food, clothing, dwellings, and the necessary tools needed for the production of the things mentioned above. The other production is the production of man himself, i.e., the propagation of seeds."² We believe that there are two kinds of human production. One implies the physiological function; the propagation of seeds. The other production involves the quality of man himself. That is to say, society will try to influence a person's physical and mental development

and engrave new qualities and values on him. The first function of production is simply fulfilling a basic need. It is not an exclusive activity, since it exists in both human and animal societies. The second kind of production is the special element that sets man and other animals apart from one another and is therefore most significant. This production propels the socialization of individuals, and offers knowledge, experience, and skills. Through this process we acquire new ability to learn, work, and live. This ability is different from the simple ability to reproduce, it is a new creation. Therefore, we can say that education is a kind of creative labor, a activity to remodel men. Now that we have defined education as a production activity with a definite significance, we have a clearer idea of the role and function of education in our everyday lives. This enables us to understand the essence of education. However, we would like to point out that education can be defined in a broad or narrow sense. The broader definition of education includes all activities that may help shape the human character. The narrower definition of education includes only the activities that are geared toward and planned and organized for the building of human character. The first kind of education includes almost all human activities, because men are constantly working for the improvement of the objective world as well as the improvement of themselves. This is how new ideas, morality, knowledge, and abilities emerge. But the problem with this definition is that it is too general. Therefore, when we say education, we mean education in the narrow sense. This includes only activities that are goal-oriented, planned, and organized for the purpose of building human character.

We may further generalize the concept of education. First, education is a social phenomenon exclusive to human society. Education develops when there is a division of mental labor and later splits into various independent social practices and activities. In order to satisfy the demands of material and spiritual production in society, the format of education becomes more and more complicated. The more human society develops, the larger will be the number of people receiving education, and the longer it will take them to finish their education. The development trend of modern education is that instead of having only a few people educated, more, in fact, all, people will receive education. Pre-job learning is expanded to on-the-job training. Youth education is extended to life-long education. In a modern society, education occupies a more important place and plays a more extended role than before. Second, the area of education is large and wide. The area it touches upon is as large as life itself. All the knowledge and experiences of human livelihood are communicated through education. Educational activities touch upon every trade and profession, and concern people of all classes and levels in society. Third, education is a multi-sided process of purposeful, social, and psychological development. The process of this social practice, namely, the offering of skills, intertwines with our social lives. Education is essentially connected with the development of society and restricted by the mental and physical development

of the person being educated. Fourth, education is a conscious action of human beings; it is a purposeful, planned, and organized act. One thing that differentiates human beings from animals is that men like to educate and be educated. Because men can pass on, through educational activities, the knowledge and experience accumulated by their ancestors to their descendants, human civilization survives and develops. Fifth, educational activities are socially related. In a society defined by class differentiation, education will also be defined by class. Men are social animals. Each society will want its people trained to satisfy its needs. Therefore, people in a class society follow the nature of class. Each class will work hard to educate its people so that they will fit into their class. This is why education embodies the nature of society and class. Denying the existence of society and class in educational activities will not contribute to an understanding of the essence of education.

On the one hand, education, especially modern education, is closely connected with productivity. On the other hand, the two are different in essence. What we mean by a close connection is that man is the most dynamic factor among the productive forces. But the quality of workers and their ability to work is, in many ways, determined by education. Also, education is the only path to an understanding of science and technology, and only through education can science and technology make their impact on industrial production. If we look at education from this angle we may say that education is a latent productive force. Education helps develop productivity by improving the quality of man. In a way, investment in education is the same as investment in production. This can mean a difference in the performance of the labor force—the most active element of the productive forces. In other words, education both influences and controls the development of productivity. The more advanced education is, the easier it is for a nation to develop productivity. Education is an important factor in the development of productivity. Now we should look at the other side of the issue. The development of productivity determines what education needs to accomplish, and productivity is the source of material support. Education must be coordinated with industrial production and labor. Industrial production provides the foundation and necessary condition for educational development. Educational development and the development of productivity condition and restrain each other. The only correct thing for us to do is to emphasize both education and industrial production and to coordinate their development.

Just because education and productivity are closely related does not mean that education is productivity. Productivity describes the human ability to master and alter nature. Education helps people acquire this ability, but it is not the ability itself. In the process of material production, productivity is the bond between man and nature. Education has to satisfy the demands of a defined society (or class). Educational activities are goal-oriented, planned, and organized. They aim to

influence the minds and bodies of the people receiving schooling. Educational activities will help people meet the required standards of the society (or class). The productive ability of education has a latent existence; it exists in the people it trains. The ability can only be realized in the process of material production. There is no class distinction in productivity. But education in a class society is obviously class-oriented. Education departments and educators work hard to train and shape people who will defend their class interests. People chosen to receive education are selected because their society or class prefer them. Industrial production makes things but education makes people. Therefore, we simply classify education as a productive force.

For a long time people have been saying that education belongs to the superstructure. There is some reason behind this. Because education trains people and is related to overall social life, it shares the same characteristic with the other elements of the superstructure. Education is restricted by lifestyle and social system. It is strongly influenced by the nature of society and class. Work related to education—mental work—is basically the same for the entire superstructure. Many teaching activities, such as lecturing, reading, reporting, discussion, research, visiting, and investigation, are shared by the ideological field, or other fields, in the superstructure. The substance of education, such as moral teaching or the teaching of philosophy, is closely related to the superstructure. Judging from this angle, it is not unreasonable for people to classify education as part of the superstructure. However, we must be aware that a large part of education and its programs, such as natural sciences, physical activity, internship, and scientific experiments, are above class nature; although these programs and the entire process of teaching will be somewhat influenced by world outlook. This is a complicated issue, and we should not put everything under the label of superstructure.

In short, education is a productive activity connected with the individual quality of human beings, and it is also an extremely complicated social phenomenon. We need to look at the issue of education from different angles and different viewpoints, and we need to conduct more profound discussion. This will help us understand the essence of education more thoroughly and help education function more correctly. It is not wise to give education an abstract and simplified explanation.

II. Correct Understanding of the Relationship Between Man and Society

If we look at education as the activity that produces quality people, then what is the function of education? Some people say that it is to serve human development. Some say it is for social development. Some say it serves both purposes but one is more important than the other. Everyone has a different opinion, and nobody agrees. The differences become the center of disagreement among education theorists whenever they discuss the function of education.

Some people think that man is the antithesis of society. They believe that the mission and responsibility of education is to solve man's problems. The highest objective of education is to realize the liberation of all mankind. To answer this question, we must first clarify the relationship of man with society. Marxism tells us that man is a social animal, and the one thing that distinguishes man from other animals is man's social quality. Without this social quality, man would simply be a natural being, undistinguishable from other animals. Without this social quality, man would be alienated from reality and become an abstract person existing only in imagination. Therefore, Marx strongly objected to talking abstractly of man or ignoring man's relationship to society. He said, "We are not the product of people's imagination or designs. Our existence goes beyond people's words, minds, imagination, and designs. To understand the meaning of man, we must look at people in real life, and from their lives we may find out how ideology echoes and reflects life itself."³ Why did Marx repeatedly criticize the abstract viewpoint on man? Because if we look at man from an abstract viewpoint we will explore the essence of man by neglecting his relationship to society and his social actions. If we begin our exploration with man in real life, we will know that the essence of man is his social standing. Marx said: "The essence of man is not an individual abstract entity. In fact, it is the sum of all social relations."⁴

If man is a "social existence" and a product of social activity, then his development must follow the development of society. He is liberated when society is liberated. If we talk about the development and liberation of man without including the development and liberation of society, we are simply jabbering empty words. There are two ways society controls the development of man. First, no one can exist alone, away from other people and away from society. He can only develop and exist when he communicates with and mutually influences others. Second, his body structure is determined by his ancestors. He inherits the type of productivity and format of communication from the people before him. Marx's opinion was that social development had a decisive influence on human development, and he provided concrete examples for his theory. He said, "How a person develops depends on the development of all the people who have direct or indirect communication with him. Individuals who are related to each other at present were related generations ago, and they will continue to be related for many more generations. The physical existence of their descendants has been determined by their ancestors. Future generations will inherit the productivity and the methods of communication accumulated by previous generations. The interrelationship of the people of the present generation has already been settled in this way. In short, we can see that the process of development is continuous. When we talk about the history of an individual, we must not disregard the history of his contemporaries, or of the people before him; because they are interrelated."⁵ That is to say, the development of an individual depends on the social and

historical conditions of the society he is in and also on the overall standards of that society. Everyone is affected by the social and historical conditions of the society he is in. The abstract idea of man's essence without including his social nature is merely a smokescreen put up by the capitalist class because the capitalists want to conceal the class nature of their education policy. We must have a clear understanding of the question. It is impossible to talk about the development of man without including the development of society. We certainly cannot separate the two kinds of development.

If the essence of man is the sum of his social relations, and the development of man depends on the development of society, then promoting social development is a necessary action. As long as we insist that education serves social development and produces the people necessary for social development, then social development will be accompanied by human development, and man will be liberated when his society becomes liberated. The exploiting class in history had its own boundaries. When the interests of the class coincided with the interests of social development, the people of the exploiting class would use education to promote social development. If their interests clashed with the interests of social development, they would make education serve their interests instead. Hence, social development would run into obstacles, and human liberation and development would not occur either. The interests of the proletarian class and the interests of social development are united as one. Only the proletariat can unite class interests, the interests of social development, and the interests of individual development. This is why we insist on combining the liberation of society and mankind, and why we insist that education must serve both social and human development. We object to separating man from his society, neither do we treat them as the antithesis of one another.

Some people believe in pitching society against man. Furthermore, they say that there are two theories of education; one is the theory of education as a tool serving social development; the other is the theory of epistemological education, serving only human development. The former trains traditional people and the latter trains modern man. The basic difference between modern man and traditional man is that the modern man is free from slavery, that he is no longer under someone's rule, and that he is not owned by anybody. Modern man belongs to himself, and he controls his own fate. Still, we are not convinced that man's freedom comes as a result of a different kind of education. Man's freedom has always been restricted by two factors; one is nature, the other is his relationship with society. Only when man begins to understand nature and consciously transform nature can he be freed from natural restrictions. It is the same with man's relationship with society. Only when man is freed from systems of exploitation and repression and becomes master of his own society can he enter the stage of liberty. Engels said that when socialist society becomes communist society—a classless society with highly developed productivity, he would name this

the period when people fly from the realm of necessity to the realm of liberty. Mao Zedong said that the history of man is the history of continuous travel from the realm of necessity to the realm of liberty. As we can see, the issue of man's freedom cannot be separated from the level of the development of productivity, from the social system, and from the cognitive ability of man. We fight with a weapon if we want to win. The weapon that will win us freedom is educational activity; the activity that will help improve productivity and stimulate social progress, and enable us to understand and change the world. The kind of education that prevents men from fighting for their freedom is the kind that defends a reactionary and outdated social system or advocates an ignorant and backward ideology. If what education does is to serve the needs of society, how can we regard the system as something that represses and restricts man's freedom? All schools in socialist countries teach their students to fight against slavery and repressive systems, and from schools students acquire knowledge of science and culture. Are not these schools helping people to fight for their own happiness? The people who think that social demands on education cause a loss of liberty deny the fact that human development cannot be separated from social development. The fact is that society determines the content of education, and each social system has its own educational requirements. The difference is that our socialist system is the system that unites social development and human liberation. Our system dares to tell the truth. On the other hand, the capitalist system is the system that helps the minority to exploit the majority. If education must serve the capitalist system, it will have to help consolidate the mercenary and enslaving system. The capitalist class will try every trick to hide the truth. This is why capitalists make such hypocritical statements, telling us that the objective of education is to achieve individual freedom and liberation of the personality. In reality, in a capitalist society, only those with funds can be free and maintain individuality. For the majority of the people, education will only offer them the training required by capitalists.

Some people say that education cannot serve social development and improve the quality of man at the same time. They believe that the real objective of education should be improving the quality of man. Actually, in our country, the goal of improving human quality does not contradict the fact that education serves social development. To achieve socialist construction we must have people who are better qualified. The way our schools work for socialist construction is to improve the quality of people. It is, therefore, illogical to think that the two goals interfere with each other. Some people have the idea that social value is the opposite of individual value. They think that education should emphasize the value of man himself. We must highlight the fact that when education improves the quality of man, unavoidably it will also improve the value of man. This value includes the need to satisfy the demands of individual existence and development, and the demands of social development. We agree that education should

improve the value of man. Yet the value of man is closely related to the value of society. Individual value can only be indicated through, and measured by, social value. The degree and the realization of an individual's value is more or less determined by his social value. Once we depart from our social value, then any talk of individual value will be of no significance. Generally speaking, the higher the social value is, the easier it will be for the person to find his individual value. If our schools can only produce people who think highly of individual value and who discard social value, then there will not be anyone who can satisfy social demand or fit in with social development. If this is the case, how are we supposed to survive or develop ourselves, and how are we to realize our individual value?

There is another opinion derived from the same viewpoint. Some people disagree that education should serve socialist construction because this treats man as a guest element, rather than the host element, of society. Again, this is a one-sided argument. To society, man is a guest element, as well as a host element. Through social practice and labor, people transform nature, transform society, and create their own history. From this angle, man is the host element, and society and nature are his guest elements. Still, human activities are controlled by the objective laws of nature and society and are restricted by the social and historical conditions of society. People have to act according to the demands of historical development and follow the objectives of society if they want to succeed. Judging from this angle, man is the guest element. Moreover, each man is the host element in his life, but to others he is only a guest element. All these indicate that nobody can say that he is the host element but not a guest element or that he is only a guest element, not the host element. The people produced by our education must learn to accept these double values and functions. To say that education can only train man as the host element, but never as a guest element, is asking for the impossible. This kind of opinion can come only from subjective imagination.

Here we must point out that in the discussion of the function and value of education, most comrades adopted the viewpoint of uniting social value and individual value, and expressed their interpretations of the subject from the same angle. The one-sided opinions mentioned above came only from a few individuals. However, to a certain extent, they represent the humanist tide from the educational ideology of foreign countries. This educational ideology did play a positive role at the time capitalism was on the rise. But we should not automatically transplant this viewpoint to our socialist country. At the time when humanism was suggested, people were struggling against feudalistic dictatorship and a theocratic system; a system that repressed their individuality and freedom. In its place they established the capitalist system, a system that advocated liberty and equality in form but practiced exploitation and repression in reality. What we have today is a socialist system, a system that is totally different from the other two. Socialism has

destroyed the exploitation and repression system and created better conditions for human liberation and development. Here, social interests are the same as the interests concerning human development. Basically, human development and social development are mutually beneficial; the progress of one will lead to the success of the other. Under the circumstances, if we still follow the humanist educational viewpoint and insist that education must serve human development rather than social development, then we will be advocating the idea that people should always think of themselves first, that they should design their own future regardless of what the rest of the nation may need, that they should pursue individual growth at the expense of society, and that they may put their own interests above social interests and the interests of other people. If so, we will be totally submerged by individualism. Moreover, we will be opening the gate for bourgeois liberalism.

What we learn from our historical experience is that socialist education must serve socialist construction as well as human development. The two are inseparable and united as one. The function of education is to train the kind of people required by socialism and, through them, to achieve socialist construction. In this way, education will serve human development as well. When we look at the overall situation or at the essence of the matter, we will find that under the socialist system individual development and social development are the same. Also, individual development cannot exclude social development. In fact, man achieves individual development through the process of social development. The socialist cause represents the interests of all people, including the proper interests of any individual. This is why people want and support socialism. Socialist education must give what the people want. It must benefit their physical and mental development, and encourage them to take more initiatives.

III. Education Must Satisfy the Demands of Society as Well as Follow Its Internal Discipline

In order for the educational system to function, we must understand the nature of education and accept social restrictions. If we go against nature or ignore social conditions and demands, we will seriously hinder the development of education.

Society restricts education in four ways. First, society tells us what kinds of skills people need to have. Demand provides the biggest incentive for us to develop education. Second, society provides education with material resources and financial support. They are the foundation of educational development. Third, society defines the character of education and provides guidance for its development. Fourth, society is the larger environment surrounding education and is entwined with the system. For all these reasons, society has a decisive influence on the direction, course, speed, and scale of education development. Society helps design the structure of education, and it also defines the content and format of

teaching. To a large extent, the characteristics of society and its level of development control educational development.

It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of society. We need that social force to stimulate education development. We have said that socialist construction depends on educational development, and education must serve socialist construction. This policy should answer the question concerning the relationship between society and education. We have been implementing educational reform in the last few years because we want to settle this issue.

Education trains people. This is an activity that has its own internal discipline. First, the object of education is man. Education must not ignore the rhythm of human growth and mental activity. For instance, the educational principle of gradual learning and connecting theory with reality is based on the characteristics of human cognition. Because there are differences in personalities, we vary our method and content of teaching to suit the students and we create a flexible format. One of the characteristics of man is his subjective activity. This is why education must enlighten and induce reaction. Second, teaching and studying is a two-way activity between teachers and students. Conflicts between teaching and studying comprise the basic internal problems of teaching and studying; the relationship between teacher and student comprises the basic internal relationship of teaching and studying. In order to correctly deal with and solve these relationships and problems, we create a series of guidelines, such as teaching and studying complement each other; teachers guide, and students are the main body, etc. Third, the task of education is to improve the quality of man. Some people categorize human quality in three ways—moral, intellectual, and physical. Others make a more detailed distinction. They say that there may be four categories—moral, intellectual, physical, and aesthetic; or five categories—moral, intellectual, physical, aesthetic, and labor. All these elements are interrelated and mutually influential. Developing education means coordinating all elements. We must also obey other disciplines of education. This is the minimal requirement.

The nature of education will not change. It does not matter if we are from a different class or society, we must follow the rules. No one is allowed to disobey, otherwise we will pay the price of having the progress of development interrupted. As history develops, people will understand more about the laws of education and will be more knowledgeable in applying the laws. Society will always have an impact on education, although different societies will create different social conditions and impacts. The basic distinction between socialist and capitalist education is not based on whether or not anyone recognizes the necessity of following the nature of education, or whether or not anyone ignores social influences on education. The difference between the two educational systems lies in the essence of social impact. Marx and Engels explained this point clearly in the

Communist Manifesto: "Communists did not invent the fact that society has an impact on education, they just want to alter the essence of the impact."⁶ Marx believed that society played an important role in education. He believed that society defined education, that education could be implemented through social relations, and that society exercised direct or indirect control by the establishment of a school system. Society not only influences education, it also controls and regulates the direction and the course of educational development. Because there is such an obligatory relationship existing between society and education, Comrade Deng Xiaoping decided that the education system must be modernized, must be world-oriented, and must be able to deal with the future. The purpose of his saying this is to make us realize that education has to serve socialist construction, satisfy the demands of a modern society, and produce more high quality people for the nation.

On this issue people tend to make two mistakes. The first group of people says that we cannot ask education to follow its own objective laws and satisfy the needs of social development simultaneously. They believe that the goal of serving socialist construction is contradictory to the purpose of education. They question whether education should be for social development or human development. They want education to be independent of social influences, to retrieve its "individuality," and to forget about being society's "accessory and tool." To this question, we will answer that education is a part of social life. Education will maintain its relation with society and be restrained by the laws of social development. We cannot sever this relationship and attempt to find "liberty" by staying above the laws of social development. What these comrades want is to keep education away from any social influences, to deny and ignore any connections between education and society, and to develop education only by following the objective laws of education. If we grant them their wish, our schools will be cut off from society. The people trained by our schools will not fit into society, because the substance and format of teaching have nothing to do with reality. As a result we will not be able to carry out the policy that says teaching standards and education must serve socialist construction. The viewpoint that denies social influences on education is the cause of all sorts of unrealistic theories.

The second group of people tend to lump education and other fields together and treat them as one. They deny the fact that education is independent and individual. They try to replace educational discipline with economic discipline. They would manage schools the same way they manage economic or political departments. This prohibits school management from following the objective laws of education and interferes with normal teaching procedure. There are specific rules and demands on how to train people and to improve their quality. We must follow these rules and stick with the scientific procedure if we want to produce more qualified people. Therefore, schools must maintain their

independence. Education serves society by fulfilling its duty of producing qualified people. That is to say, even though education must be socially oriented and must contribute to social development, it does not mean that education should be stripped of its independence and individuality. Nor should we change the education establishment into economic, political, or other types of organizations and "transform" educational discipline and replace it with economic rules. The more education can retain its individuality, the more valuable and irreplaceable it will become. If we dismiss or deny its characteristics, we will weaken or destroy education.

Because we did not have a comprehensive understanding of the policy of education serving the interests of the proletariat class, when we tried to carry out this policy in 1958 we made the mistake of advocating too many political movements. Hence, our schools could not fully function as training organizations. The mistake evolved into the Cultural Revolution. That was when classes were suspended and students stayed out of school for the revolution. All educational organizations became offices for political struggle, and political movements replaced all teaching activities. In fact, schools were nonexistent. The decade-long Cultural Revolution held up a whole generation, disrupted the supply of trained people, and caused irreversible damage.

We learned from our experiences. Based on the strategic policy and the new work objective of the party and country, we concluded that education should serve socialist construction. This policy has given education the necessary energy to function. Yet, while we try to develop a socialist economy, some people suggest turning our schools into units that produce commodities. Students will be treated as commodities and schools will have to conform to the laws of commodity production. In other words, the laws of commodity production will be the laws of training people. We do not deny the fact that the school is inside a social environment and is conditioned by society, that it is controlled by the economy of society, or that it must serve socialist economic construction. But we must not forget that the only way education serves socialist economic construction is to produce qualified people. Society needs people who have moral, intellectual, and physical standards, and who have the necessary skills to build socialism. This does not mean commercializing education. Our educational reform aims to correct the mistakes of the past, that is, the training provided by the education system will have to match job requirements. The policy of issuing contracts and implementing the responsibility system comes from economic system reform. The purpose of the policy is to train people who will meet the demands of socialist system reform; it does not mean turning the task of skill training into commodity production. Naturally, education must meet the requirements of socialist commodity production. It is permissible for schools to test and study certain mechanisms of commodity production and include these as part of the teaching activities. But a school is not a factory or an

enterprise, and producing qualified people is not the same thing as material production. We do not put the same demands on commodities as we do on people. The important thing is that we must first remember the objective of school education. We train students by following the nature of education. We administer control by taking care of the school environment. If the role of the school is to fulfil the economic requirement of "making the highest income," and the grooming of people is equal to material production, we are asking the system to run against its nature and shake off its individuality. Teaching standards will go down, and normal school procedures will be interrupted. Obviously this viewpoint contradicts the party's policy that says education should serve socialist construction. Its advocates have definitely misinterpreted the original meaning of education serving economic construction.

We must highlight the fact that the opinion of education adopting humanism and the opinion of turning education into economic activity were born in the process of educational reform. Therefore, we need to look at our basic line of thinking. On the one hand, educational reform aims at straightening out the relation between education and society. We reform the system so that it may adjust to and serve society. This is how discussion on connecting education with socialist commodity production started. The configuration of education, establishing professional schools, assigning students, changing the content and format of lessons—all these issues are connected in the same way. On the other hand, we must give full respect to the individuality of education and follow the nature of education. We must not attempt to oppose the objective nature of education or obstruct the moral, intellectual, physical, aesthetic, and labor development of students. We should help our schools accomplish the task of training people and serving socialist construction. The humanist ideology which has recently appeared denies that the role of education is serving society. Humanism weakens the connection between school and society. People who advocate this ideology do not agree that the purpose of educational reform is to make education more adaptable to social demands. If they have their way, education will not have a strong propelling force from outside, and as a result the system will lose touch with society. But the people who advocate turning the education system into an economic system and who arbitrarily adopt the methods of economic reform would prefer to ignore the nature and individuality of education. As a result they would weaken the schools' responsibility for training people and impair normal teaching procedures. Neither of these viewpoints will help us achieve our objective; that is, to produce more and better-qualified people for socialist construction.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 146.
2. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*, Volume 1, p. 30.

4. *Ibid.*, Volume 1, p. 18.

5. *Complete Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 515.

6. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 1, p. 269.

Current U.S. Economic Recession, Its Impact

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[Article by Zhen Bingxi (3914 3521 4406)]

[Text] After nearly eight years of recovery, the U.S. economy entered its eighth post-World War II recession in the fourth quarter of last year. It is calculated that the current recession will not be as serious as previous ones but still, its impact on U.S. politics and the economy at home and abroad is not to be underestimated.

I

As in previous recessions, the current U.S. economic recession is a periodic overproduction crisis. It has dealt widespread blows to the U.S. economy and has the general characteristics of overproduction crises. The following are the major features:

First, production is steadily on the decline and factories are operating under capacity. It is generally held that an economic recession has set in if actual GNP registers negative growth for two consecutive quarters. In the fourth quarter of 1990, GNP was 2 percent down on the previous quarter and a drop of over 1 percent is predicted for the first quarter of this year. The industrial production index has been on the downturn for five months running from last October to this February. In November, a 1.7-percent drop was recorded, the biggest since December 1982. During this period, the operating rate of the manufacturing sector dropped from 82.5 percent to 78 percent, the lowest in eight years. Within the manufacturing sector, most trades reported profit drops and production cuts. The auto industry fared worst, with output in the fourth quarter down by 24 percent.

Second, there is a sharp increase in the number of enterprises becoming insolvent. According to estimates by the U.S. company Dunn, a total of 60,000 companies became insolvent in the country last year, with outstanding debts totaling \$70 billion, increases of 30 and 128 percent respectively over the previous year. Since August in particular, as many as 1,500 companies have reportedly gone bankrupt each week. This intensity of the insolvency trend and the amount of outstanding debts have rarely been seen in post-war United States.

Third, the employment situation is deteriorating. Before the recession set in, that is, starting last July, many enterprises began laying off workers in large numbers. Unemployment became more and more serious.

According to U.S. Labor Department statistics, the nation's unemployment rate increased from 5.2 percent last June to 6.5 percent in February this year. The number of jobless soared from 6.4 million to 8 million and the number of underemployed exceeded 5 million. The army of unemployed is still expanding. In other words, one in every 19 Americans is jobless or underemployed.

Lastly, not only is the material production sector hit by hard times, even the service trades, which are deemed to be more capable of withstanding periodic fluctuations, have suffered a severe blow. Among these, banking and retailing are the worst hit.

Before production in the manufacturing sector began its downturn, the real estate business showed signs of weakening and decline. Property prices have been falling for more than a year now, resulting in a slump in the housing industry. Last year, housing starts dropped for 11 months in a row. By the end of the year, it had hit the lowest point since the last recession. The unemployment rate for construction workers is over 13 percent, far exceeding the nation's average unemployment rate.

In the past, recession has hit banking gradually, but this time banking was in deep water from the outset. This was mainly reflected in the fact that many loans had to be written off as "bad debts" and a large number of banks had gone into liquidation. Last year, uncollectible bank loans hit a record \$30 billion, four [figure as published] times more than in 1982 (\$6 billion). Last year, about 170 banks went bankrupt, also far exceeding the 1982 figure (40). Early this year, the Bank of New England Group, one of the four leading banking groups in the northeastern United States, declared bankruptcy and had to be "rescued" and taken over by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation at a cost of \$2.3 billion. Another 1,000-plus banks were on the verge of bankruptcy and were listed by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation as "problem banks." Even the big banks have had a difficult time. For instance, Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, Chemical Bank, and other banks found their share prices slumping, "bad debts" soaring, profit rates declining, and losses mounting. They were forced to trim their operations, dismiss and replace their managers, and substantially reduce their staff. Recently, 8,000 Citicorp employees, 8.5 percent of the bank's total staff, were "sacked." As Mr. Robert Li-tan [0448 0982], financial expert at the U.S. Brookings Institution, said, "Our banks have never experienced such a bad time before."

During the recession, retail sales have also presented a very bleak picture. Growth in retail sales dropped from an average 3 percent in the 1980's to 1 percent last year. In the fourth quarter of last year, retail sales dropped 4 percent. Before Christmas, many large department stores started their clearance sales earlier than usual, but failed to stimulate purchases. This phenomenon had never been seen during the past 10 years. The Sears Business Group, with assets worth \$34 billion, reported sluggish business and substantial profit fall in December. Not

long ago, the group was forced to lay off 21,000 employees. Civil aviation had a poor turnover and sustained heavy losses. Many large companies became insolvent. Even Pan Am, which has been in the trade for nearly 70 years, must to apply for receivership. Financial insurance companies, securities firms, advertising agencies, law firms, accounting firms, and so on, were also hit by the recession to varying degrees. White-collar workers, many of whom were managers, brokers, financial experts, attorneys, accountants, and senior personnel, accounted for over 60 percent of the total number of unemployed at the end of last year. Compared with 1982, the number of out-of-work white-collar workers had increased by about 10 percent.

II

After surviving the worst postwar economic recession from 1980 to 1982, the United States saw the longest span of peacetime economic recovery since the war. What is the cause of the current recession? The fundamental reason is the same as before: There are still contradictions between the social nature of production and the capitalist private ownership of the means of production and the fruits of production. Although efforts have been made to readjust economic policies, reform the industrial structure, and attach importance to the development and application of science and technology, the law governing the periodic development of the capitalist economy has remained unchanged. The current recession reflects the gradual accumulation and sharpening of basic contradictions. Other factors have served as catalysts and hastened this process.

Like previous recessions, the current one is chiefly the result of the intensification of contradictions between the unlimited growth of social productive forces and the relative contraction of the effective social wants of the laboring masses. During the stage of economic recovery, fixed capital investment increased substantially, bringing about a continuous growth of productive capacity. Between 1983 and 1989, private fixed investment (in 1982 dollar value) increased at an annual average of over 5 percent. In 1983 and 1984, the increases registered 8.2 and 16.8 percent, respectively. However, the real income of the laboring masses did not grow quite as fast, and absolute declines were sometimes reported. During this period, the hourly wage for non-agricultural workers increased by an average of only 2 percent a year. In 1990, the disposable income of low-income earners, who account for one-fifth of the total population, was actually 5 percent less than in 1980. This is bound to precipitate the sharpening of contradictions between production and marketing, or between supply and demand, and will inevitably lead to the outbreak of a new crisis (recession). As Engels pointed out, "When market expansion cannot catch up with the expansion of production, conflict becomes inevitable."¹

The sharpening of contradictions between production and marketing finds salient expression in the building

industry and in retailing. The 1980's saw blind expansion of the building industry and retail sales. For instance, in 1983 and 1984, investment in housing construction increased at rates of 42 and 14.5 percent, respectively. Between 1986 and 1989, the number of shopping arcades increased by 22 percent. Per capita retail area shot up from eight square meters in 1982 to 18 square meters in 1990. Meanwhile, affected by sluggish growth in income, inflation, and other factors, workers' effective purchasing power dropped and home purchases nosedived. This resulted in an oversupply of property and stockpiling in the retail business, which will inevitably lead to hard times in the building industry as well as in retailing and other trades.

The sharpening of contradictions in the U.S. economy had, at one stage, been slowed down by excessive public and private borrowing and credit expansion. Activated by the basic contradictions of capitalism, however, the debt factor which was once responsible for U.S. economic growth turned into the opposite. Over the past 10 years, borrowing by the federal government, enterprises, and individuals increased annually. By the middle of last year, public and private borrowing amounted to \$12.8 trillion, 2.4 times the GNP. This produced a picture of false prosperity for a considerably long period, with domestic demand thriving, consumption swelling, and imports registering substantial increases. However, "debt-fueled economic prosperity" cannot last long. In the early 1990's, the federal government, enterprises, and individuals were forced to cut their borrowing, a move which also suppressed investment and consumption. At present, federal debt amounts to over \$3,000 billion, with annual interest payments totaling more than \$150 billion. In order to pay interest on national debts, the government must compete with private enterprises for funds in the money market, causing interest rates to stay high. This has in turn affected investment and production by enterprises. The presence of huge national debts has also rendered it impossible for the government to stimulate the economy by expansionist economic policies. The debts of nonfinancial enterprises now total \$3,500 billion. The percentage of funds spent on the repayment of capital and interest in aftertax earnings of enterprises has gone up from 40 percent in the early 1980's to last year's 60 percent. Increased interest burdens in production cost have greatly weakened the investment capability of enterprises. Private borrowing amounts to approximately \$3,600 billion. Mounting debts have almost drained the purchasing power of many families. This, coupled with a drop in real income, means that people have to cut down on food and clothing and defer the purchase of homes, cars, and other durable items. After the credit boom of the 1980's, banks also find themselves in a vulnerable position as more and more people fail to repay their home mortgages and as enterprise and personal bad debts increase. They have no alternative but to keep credit under strict control and even impose a credit squeeze. This has exacerbated the cash-flow problems of industrial and commercial enterprises, making it impossible to increase investment in

production. Thus, the contradiction between the expansion of production and effective demand has ultimately led to the sharpening of contradictions between production and marketing, or between supply and demand.

The sharpening of contradictions between production and marketing has directly intensified the financial contradictions and the measures taken by the U.S. Government to resolve these contradictions have touched off the economic recession. Since the mid-1980's, relations between total demand and total supply have become increasingly strained after the productive capacity and utilization of capacity reached the saturation point. Inflation was all set to intensify. In order to cool down the overheated economy and curb inflation, the Federal Reserve Board began to tighten up the money supply in 1988 and repeatedly raised the discount rate. Affected by this move, the merchant banks also adjusted their prime rate upward, pushing it as high as 11.5 percent at one point in 1989. This succeeded in curtailing personal consumption demand and fixed investment by enterprises to a certain extent. Economic growth was thus slowed down. Under the impact of high interest rates, personal consumption demand and fixed investment—two major factors for economic growth—further deteriorated in 1990. The economy continued its downhill journey, finally ending in the sorry state of recession in the fourth quarter of last year. On the surface, it seemed that the recession was touched off by government policies. If we look at the situation more deeply, we will see that it was the inevitable outcome of the development of objective contradictions in the course of reproduction. The government's macroeconomic policies were not well considered. For instance, although the measure to tighten money supply checked inflation, it also curbed economic growth. The government changed its policy from anti-inflation to antirecession toward the end of last year when it saw that the situation was anything but reassuring, but by then it was already too late to arrest the momentum of the fall and stop the recession.

The increase in oil prices because of the Gulf crisis and other nonrecurrent factors have also aided and abetted the recession. The U.S. economy has benefited a great deal from the low oil prices over the past few years. As imported oil accounts for half of the country's consumption, the rise or fall in oil prices has an important "catalytic" effect on the economy. After the outbreak of the Gulf crisis, oil prices skyrocketed from less than \$20 per barrel in early August to over \$40 in early October and still fluctuated around the \$30 mark at yearend. The rise in oil prices and spiraling inflation eroded the confidence of consumers and enterprises alike. This, coupled with the increase in import expenses, caused the economy to suffer directly or indirectly. Statistics show that, for every \$10 increase in oil prices, the inflation rate will rise by about two percentage points, the economic growth rate will drop by one percentage point, and import expenses will increase by \$30 billion a year. Pressured by rising oil prices and inflation, the Federal Reserve Board could do little to stimulate the economy

by relaxing money supply. Meanwhile, the turbulent international financial situation, fluctuating exchange rates, and the steep rise and fall in share prices as a result of the Gulf crisis also hampered the steady development of the U.S. economy. The fact is, recession would have hit the U.S. economy sooner or later even without the Gulf crisis and the rise in oil prices because the basic social contradictions cannot be overcome.

III

Economists at home and abroad are divided on the extent and duration of the current U.S. economic recession. It is not easy to make an accurate estimate at this stage. Nonetheless, an analysis of some of the factors that affect the development of the U.S. economy will be of help in judging the basic trend of the recession.

There are still favorable factors in the development of the U.S. economy. For instance, as the inflation rate is not too high, the Federal Reserve Board is still in a position to readjust its monetary policies and lower interest rates. Due to the weak dollar exchange rate and the fact that major trading partners like Japan and Germany are doing well financially, it will be possible to maintain the momentum of growth in the export of U.S. products, particularly manufactured goods. After 10 years of readjustment, the regulatory ability of the U.S. economy against recession and oil price rises has been strengthened. The fact that overstocking by enterprises has not yet gotten out of hand has, to a certain extent, mitigated the subsequent drop in production due to stock dumping during depression. Agricultural production is still on the increase.

However, the U.S. economy is also beset with the following major unfavorable factors:

First, consumer and investor confidence is still on the decline. Consumers are reluctant to increase consumption expenses. Many companies are scrapping their 1991 production investment plans, and real capital expenditure for the entire manufacturing sector will be slashed by 1.3 percent. At the end of last year and early this year, indicators reflecting U.S. economic trends were on the decline. For instance, composite indexes for leading economic indicators, manufacturing orders, building permits, retail volume, and so on, are all dropping. Some indicators have even registered their biggest drop in the past 10 years. This suggests that the economy will deteriorate still further in the months ahead.

Second, federal budget deficits are still growing and the government has little financial means at its disposal to stop the recession from deepening. According to estimates by U.S. Government officials, federal budget deficits for fiscal 1991 are likely to reach a record \$300-325 billion. The deficits would be still bigger if the Gulf war expenses were included. The enormous budget

deficits will impose great constraints on the Bush administration, rendering it impossible to resort to expansionist financial policies to bring about an economic recovery as the Reagan administration did in the early 1980's.

Third, foreign capital inflow is diminishing and even pulling out. The U.S. economy was able to shake off recession and maintain its growth in the 1980's due partly to a massive foreign capital inflow. Last year, however, saw a reversal of this trend. According to preliminary statistics, the net outflow of foreign capital exceeded \$20 billion last year. Due to the drop in savings rates across the world, coupled with the sharp cut in capital exports from Japan and Germany, a global cash shortage occurred. In addition, most Western countries are offering higher interest rates than the United States. It thus appears that the momentum of capital outflow from the United States will continue unabated and this will aggravate the country's cash shortage and make economic recovery all the more difficult.

Fourth, financing for industrial and commercial enterprises is becoming more difficult. The crisis facing U.S. banks and their savings and loan business often interacts with the recession. It is estimated that as many as 230 banks will go under this year, with debts amounting to \$90 billion, well over the corresponding figures for last year. The recession has aggravated the banking crisis and the financial crisis will in turn hasten the recession. Even if the financial crisis does not get out of hand, U.S. banks will still exercise great caution in lending money and will impose strict restrictions. A survey conducted at the end of last year shows that between 33 and 50 percent of the banks were tightening credit. Although the Federal Reserve Board has decided to relax money supply, many banks are having second thoughts about following suit. They put aside half of new capital as reserve against bad debts and for the purchase of government bonds, rather than using these sums to increase lendings to industrial and commercial enterprises. This will not be of much help in stimulating an economic recovery. Kaufmann, chief economist at Solomon Brothers, recently pointed out that the frail U.S. financial system would make economic recovery very difficult because, following the "reconstruction" and reform of banks, they would be compelled to limit credit, thereby imposing constraints on financing by industry and commerce. Under this impact, enterprises will not expand production by a big margin.

Fifth, the slump in the real estate market and building industry will further deteriorate as the recession deepens. Office blocks completed in recent months are enough to supply needs for the next 10 years. The steady decline in the number of people getting married has also reduced the demand for housing. This will not only result in an oversupply in housing construction and aggravate the recession, but will affect the restoration of consumer confidence and pose a threat to banks offering massive housing loans.

Finally, there is little room for expansion of exports. Some economists believe that the economic recession in the United States could touch off a global recession. This view is not altogether groundless. As indicated by a report published by the International Business Cycle Research Center of Columbia University, the leading economic indicators in nine of 11 Western developed countries surveyed were either at a standstill or declining, meaning that an international recession was imminent. At present, recession has already hit developed countries like Canada, Britain, and Australia. Economic growth in other developed countries is likely to slow down, and most developing countries will be hit by hard times this year. Under the circumstances, even if the United States can maintain the momentum of export growth, the increase will be smaller than that made in the previous two years, thus reducing the room for precipitating an economic recovery through expanding exports.

Summing up, the current economic recession may not be the worst since the war, but it is also far from being a "mild and short-term" one as the U.S. administration has claimed. A greater likelihood is that the recession will be close to the average level of the previous seven postwar recessions in terms of intensity and duration. We may call it a medium-level recession and it appears that recovery will be difficult. Should there be major unforeseen events in oil prices and in the realms of finance and credit, it is entirely possible that unpredictable twists and setbacks will occur.

IV

The current economic recession will have a widespread impact on U.S. political and economic positions, as well as foreign relations, some of which will be of far-reaching significance.

First, the livelihood of the laboring people will suffer as a direct result of the economic recession. Mass unemployment will lower the living standards of the laboring masses, widen the gap between the rich and the poor, and aggravate the seriousness of social problems. Although the current unemployment rate (6.5 percent) is lower than that in November 1982 (10.8 percent), the disaster brought on by the current recession to the unemployed and their families is by no means lighter than the last time round. The reason is that most of the jobless in the early 1980's were young people without family burdens, whereas the majority of the current unemployed have families to support. To them, losing their jobs means losing their guaranteed income and medical welfare. Their livelihood is not ensured and they cannot afford to send their children to school. This may result in the breakup of families or other misfortunes. Worse still, the present criteria for the jobless to qualify for unemployment benefits are much higher and relief payments are smaller. For instance, in Michigan, an unemployed person was eligible for relief payment after working in a company for 14 weeks during the 1980-82 period, but this has now been raised to 20 weeks. This means that

fewer are eligible to collect unemployment relief. Statistics show that during the previous recession, 76.8 percent of the unemployed were eligible for relief, but only 33 percent are eligible now. In the early stage of the recession, an unemployed person could still find part-time work, but, as the recession continues and the unemployment army expands, the chances of finding part-time work are very slim. Even large companies that practiced life tenure for decades are now laying off workers, and the number of companies offering life tenure has dropped from 30 five years ago to the present eight. Although the renowned IBM earlier claimed that it had no intention of changing the life tenure system, it has recently announced plans to change many full-time posts to part-time positions, thereby turning large numbers of workers effectively into semi-employed. It is also estimated that the duration of unemployment will average nine months, almost double the 1982 figure (4.8 months). The longer they are unemployed, the greater the laboring masses will suffer. Moreover, the recession will aggravate the disparity in the distribution of social wealth. As estimated by the Congressional Budget Office, the disposable income of low-income families, which accounted for one-fifth of the population, had actually dropped by 5 percent over the past 10 years, while that of high-income families, which accounted for another one-fifth of the population, had risen by 33 percent. The widening of the gap between the rich and the poor is bound to further sharpen the social contradictions at home.

Second, the recession will make it all the more difficult to resolve the problem of budget deficits, the number-one economic problem troubling the U.S. economy for years. The U.S. Government and Congress both resolved to eliminate budget deficits. The new budget they drew up last October proposed to reduce budget deficits by close to \$500 billion, through efforts to increase revenue and cut expenditures in the next five years, and to cut \$40 billion this year. It now appears that this objective is unlikely to be realized. The reason is that, with the recession going on, the federal government will be forced to increase welfare spending, such as increasing child support, food stamps, medicare, and other planned expenditures. Furthermore, following the decline in production, companies and individuals will be earning less, meaning that the federal government will also be getting less from income tax. This will inevitably increase federal budget deficits. Coupled with expenses incurred from the Gulf war, U.S. federal budget deficits will surely set new records.

Third, what merits special attention is that, as a result of the current recession, the economic balance of the Western world will see major changes which will prove unfavorable to the United States but favorable to countries like Japan and Germany. This will, in turn, aggravate economic contradictions with Japan and Germany and affect interrelations. Economic recession has not hit the developed capitalist countries at the same time. While the United States is being hit by recession, the

Japanese and German economies are growing. It is estimated that their growth rates will exceed 3 percent this year. Even if the U.S. economy recovers within a couple of years, its growth rate will be below that of Germany and Japan. This trend, with the United States on the decline and Japan and Germany continuing their rise, will be an important factor affecting their interrelations and foreign policies in the years to come. At present, it is not easy for the two sides to coordinate their economic policies and there is a growing tendency for Japan and Germany to act independently. The United States hopes to rely on them to stimulate its domestic demand and hopes that they will increase imports from the United States so it can shake off the recession. Japan and Germany have refused to satisfy U.S. demands, citing their own economic difficulties as an excuse. In addition to trade friction, interest rates and funds have also become focal points for new economic conflicts among the United States, Japan, and Germany. As the economic strength of Japan and Germany grows, their struggle to contend with the United States for the right to speak on and decide economic matters for the West will also intensify.

Lastly, with the Western economy at a low ebb, the United States and other Western countries will strive to transfer the crisis to the developing countries through various channels, thereby dealing blows at the economic development of these countries. Because of economic recession, or a drop in the economic growth rate, the United States and other Western countries will naturally reduce their demand for products exported by the developing countries and seize the opportunity to suppress the price of primary products or even step up trade protectionism. The trading conditions in the developing countries will thus further deteriorate and their export income will drop. The U.S. Government may also use financial difficulties as an excuse to cut back on its official development aid to the developing countries, or impose harsh economic and political conditions on countries receiving aid. American commercial banks will not only tighten domestic credit, but will also cut loans to the developing countries and will be reluctant to mitigate the debt burdens of debtor nations in accordance with the "Brady Plan." The contention between the United States and other developed countries for funds will send the international lending rate soaring, thereby adding to the debt burdens of the developing countries. In short, the transfer of crisis and economic difficulties by the United States and other Western countries to the developing countries will stifle their economic growth. Some countries will be hit by recession and the debt problem will deteriorate. The possibility of another debt crisis cannot be ruled out. A further deterioration in the economic situation in the developing countries will in turn add to the economic difficulties in the United States and the entire Western world.

Footnote

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 315.

Correctly Understand Superiority of Socialist System

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[Text] The issue about understanding socialism is significantly theoretical and practical. Because of different world outlooks and different points of view on the issue under examination, there are different types of understanding about socialism. Some people separate the phenomenon from the essence and substitute the overall situation with the partial one. They examine socialism in a one-sided and isolated manner and feel doubts about its superiority. We hold that we must proceed from the proletarian standpoint, take the Marxist philosophy as guidance, and insist on judging problems in an objective and comprehensive way by using scientific world outlook and approaches in view of their historical and future development. Only thus can we have a correct understanding about the socialist system.

I. Grasp the Characteristics of Essence and Correctly Understand the Superiority of the Socialist System

According to Marx, when examining an issue, one must thoroughly grasp the essence through the phenomenon on the basis of having a host of objective material to hand. Only thus can one have a correct understanding about things. The basic principle of this understanding must also apply to socialism. Only through complicated phenomenon and by grasping the essence, can we correctly understand the superiority of the socialist system.

The socialist system emerged and developed in the 20th century. It has made enormous contributions to human progress and to world peace. The rise of socialist countries changed the pattern of the world and has become a solid force for checking and winning imperialist wars and safeguarding world peace. Therefore, from the day socialism emerged, the bourgeois took it as its opposite and continuously smeared and attacked socialism. By using political, military, economic, and ideological means, they vainly attempted to penetrate and thoroughly eliminate the thinking and system of socialism. Despite all this, socialism grew from a small scale to a large one and from weak to strong. The victory spread from a single country to many countries and constantly became more powerful, thereby indicating the inherent vitality of the socialist system. Such vitality is, in the final analysis, determined by the essence of socialism.

The characteristics of the most basic essence of socialism may be summarized into public ownership of the means of production and distribution according to work, the practice of upholding the leadership by the Communist Party and proletarian dictatorship, the practice of building socialist spiritual civilization, and so forth. Ownership of the socialist production means, which is

based on public ownership, has thoroughly settled contradictions between private ownership of the means of production under capitalism and socialized large-scale production, so that the national economy can grow in a planned and proportional manner. Socialism has made the people really the masters of their state and enjoy a power to govern the state that is the most comprehensively democratic and exercised according to law. With the spiritual civilization built under the guidance of Marxism, the people were gradually emancipated from their old thinking and practices that were formed under the exploiting system, thereby greatly enhancing their thinking, moral standards, and scientific and cultural standards. All this indicates that right from the start, the socialist system is superior to any of the previous social systems. By comparing the new society to the old, the people of Xingtai Prefecture have deep feelings about such superiority.

Situated in the Heilonggang Basin, Xingtai Prefecture frequently suffered calamities, such as floods and drought, in the past. According to historical records, whenever there was a natural calamity in the old society, peasants often fed on bark and the roots of grass, and the place was strewn with the bodies of the starved. Many people had to leave their homes and beg for their food or traded their wives and children for food. After the founding of the state, Xingtai Prefecture experienced floods on two occasions and one major earthquake. The floods in 1956 were the most serious in the prefecture since the founding of the Republic. As many as 6.87 million mu of farmland and 2,200 villages were flooded and 360,000 houses collapsed. However, the prefecture suffered from much more serious floods in 1963 when 8.507 million mu of farmland which promised a good harvest of crops were flooded and 2.753 million houses collapsed. In the 1966 major earthquake, 1,956 million houses collapsed, some major facilities were seriously damaged, and there were heavy losses of both lives and property. However, by depending on the superior socialist system, the people of Xingtai, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, and with the enthusiastic support of people across the country, quickly healed the wounds caused by the natural calamities. Moreover, despite the difficulties, both industry and agriculture were rapidly developed and the people's livelihood was sharply raised. Xingtai is now filled with a thriving and prosperous atmosphere. By comparing the new society to the old, the people of Xingtai emotionally sing from the bottom of their hearts that "heaven and earth are great but greater still is the kindness of the party; and good are these and those things but better still is socialism."

II. We Must Insist on Viewing Problems From All Sides To Understand the Socialist System

Materialist dialectics tells us that things are generally related. Therefore, when we examine and understand things, we must pay attention to the various aspects of such things, as well as their mutual relations. As Lenin said, "In order to really understand a thing, one must grasp and

study each and every aspect of it; all the different kinds of relations and 'intermediaries.' We will never entirely manage to achieve this but a requirement to do it from all sides may help us guard against mistakes and ossification."¹

According to the requirement to do it comprehensively and to really reflect the socialist system, we must uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts and seriously examine and analyze various aspects of the socialist system as well as the relations. We must avoid thinking about them one-sidedly or in absolute terms. If we simply depend on certain trivial issues, or focus on part of the situation instead of the overall one, we will not be able to see the wood for the trees, and our conclusion will often be one-sided. In order to understand the socialist system from all sides, we must distinguish the mainstream from its subsidiaries. It is not a fact that everything under socialism is perfect, otherwise there would be no need for us to carry out reform and opening up to perfect the socialist system. Nevertheless, we must realize that compared to the achievements, those mistakes made under the socialist system are secondary. Take the case of Xingtai as an example. After the founding of the state, it made achievements on all sides in economic, political, and cultural development, despite such mistakes as the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution and the national economic difficulties in the early 1960's. Such stagnation or mistakes were simply secondary. Even during the great leap forward and the Cultural Revolution, the whole prefecture achieved considerable economic development because of the efforts of party organizations at various levels, as well as cadres and the masses. In the early days following the founding of the state, the prefecture's agricultural base was rather weak and output was very low. In 1949, annual grain output was only 45 kg per mu and gross output was only 460 million kg. In 1990, its grain output reached over 200 kg per mu and gross output totalled 1,992 million kg, an increase of more than three times compared to the early days following the founding of the state. Furthermore, the whole prefecture concentrated its efforts on accomplishing a number of large-scale irrigation projects, dredging more than 20 rivers, building 48 reservoirs including 8 large and medium ones, and preserving 75,000 motor-pumped wells. It also carried out large-scale agricultural and irrigation basic projects, thereby strengthening the agricultural production capacity and its capability to fight against natural calamities. Before the founding of the state, there was not a single set of agricultural machinery. The major source of power for agricultural use was human labor and livestock. Irrigation tools were winches and iron and wooden watercarts. At present, the prefecture has a total of 432,000 agricultural machines with a total power available of 2.37 million kw. The comprehensive application of science and technology has further promoted the agricultural development. At present, the prefecture's rate of applying fine breed crops in agriculture is over 95 percent. The rate of popularity of scientific management

is 70 percent, thereby basically putting an end to the traditional cultivation approach and shows how trivial the mistakes were when compared to the major agricultural achievements. It is impossible for us to achieve the present productive level without adopting the socialist system.

In order to view socialism comprehensively and to get a deeper understanding about its superiority, we must also pay attention to correcting the following relations: First, the relations between specific structural deficiencies of socialism and the socialist system as a whole. We must not negate the basic system of socialism because of specific structural deficiencies. Socialism is a brand new social system. Since its formation, part of the system is still imperfect and does not meet the requirements and social development of the socialist system in some areas. This is neither an inherent feature nor an inevitable result of the socialist system itself. Rather, it is just mutually contradictory with socialism. Compared to the basic socialist system, a specific system is changeable. Also, structural deficiencies do not mean that there are deficiencies in the socialist system. Furthermore, such structural deficiencies may be completely overcome through self-perfection under the prerequisite of upholding the basic socialist system. Second, the relations between mistakes made in our work and the socialist system. We must not blame mistakes made in our work on the socialist system, negating its superiority. Over the past 40 years and more following the founding of the state, we made political mistakes in the "expansion of class struggle" and made economic mistakes by hastily striving for achievements. These mistakes happened in the exploration stage and were the ones made in our work. They were essentially different from such tragedies and crises brought about by the exploiting class and the ruling cliques, who tried all means to extort the people and maximize their surplus value. Therefore, there has been no constant relationship between the two. Third, the relations between specific phenomena and socialism. We must not write off the superiority of socialism because certain evil phenomena exist in society. Those people who advocated the bourgeois liberalization exaggerated the extent of certain corrupt phenomena in our party; and negated both the leadership by the party and the socialist system. Ideologically, this is an approach of negating the general by grasping specific cases; and is a one-sided and metaphysical approach. Indeed, there is a very small number of people in our party who cannot stand tests of reform and opening up but become deteriorated. Nevertheless, an absolute majority of the party members are still honest and observe the law.

III. Insist on Examining Problems from a Historical Viewpoint and Study Socialism From Social Development History Perspective

The development in the state of society is a "natural process of history." The substitution of capitalism by socialism is an inevitable result of development in human society. In order to correctly understand the

socialist system, we must study it from the perspective of social development history and make a detailed analysis. According to the materialist conception of history, it is held that the contradictions between productive forces and production relations and between the economic basis and superstructure are the basic contradictions of human society. Because of the movement of such basic contradictions, the development of society is continuously pushed forward. In a capitalist society, such basic contradictions are manifested as those between the socialization of production and the private ownership of the means of production. These two contradictory sides are naturally incompatible so that it is inevitable that intensified confrontation and conflicts inevitably occur and that it will be eventually substituted by the socialist system, conforming to the development of socialized production. This is determined by the rule of social development.

Some people advocating bourgeois liberalization preached that China should make up for the lessons in capitalism missed under the pretext that it had never experienced a capitalist society. This not only goes against the objective rule of historical development but also deviates from the realities of China's development.

According to Marx: "History often make progress in a leaping and winding course."² It is not necessary for an old social system to die in the country in which it first emerges. Likewise, it is not necessary that a new social system will emerge in the country in which the old system becomes most developed. All changes and development are subject to specific conditions. That China chose the socialist road is inevitable in China's history. On being defeated in the Opium Wars, China became a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. After repeated attempts, many people with lofty ideas built a bourgeois republic, helping China to become a strong and wealthy nation. However, facts repeatedly showed that it was a failure. Under the circumstances where there was suppression by imperialism on the outside and exploitation by feudalism on the inside, the only way China could take the socialist road was through a new democratic revolution. Since the founding of New China there have been earthshaking changes in its society. An extremely poor, semi-feudal, and semi-colonial China was transformed into an initially prosperous and socialist New China. This basic fact has fully proved the supreme superiority, as well as strong vitality, of the socialist system.

Another reason some people cannot correctly understand the superiority of the socialist system is because they plainly studied the material production and living standards in a simple and abstract way, making a horizontal comparison between China and developed capitalist countries and coming to the incorrect conclusion that socialism was inferior to capitalism. We do not object to any comparisons because, only through comparison can we distinguish one thing from the rest and only thus can we separate the superior from the inferior.

Nevertheless, comparison must be done in a truth-seeking manner and using scientific methods, so that both the comparing set and the reference set are subject to a historical and detailed analysis under the same conditions. Only thus can it be comparable and can we come to a correct conclusion. On the comparison of material production, there are three different points with respect to the time and space of capitalist and socialist development. First, its length of development in history is different. At this time, capitalism is 300 to 400 years old and has accumulated a rich material basis; whereas the age of socialism, that is, the period from its establishment to this time, is only 70-odd years. The establishment of a socialist system in China was much later than that. Obviously, it is improper to compare China's material basis, which has been accumulated over the past 40-odd years, to the production level of developed capitalist countries, achieved after 300 to 400 years of development. Second, its basis of material production is different. The socialist system was established in countries which were economically backward and it was a common characteristic that socialist countries had a poor and weak basis. Moreover, it was more difficult for China to build the socialist system because it was a poor, backward, semi-feudal, and semi-colonial large country. In Xingtai Prefecture, there was almost no industry prior to the founding of the state. In the early days following the founding of the state, there were only 33 enterprises owned by the whole people and collectives and private enterprises. All were enterprise workshops mainly engaging in the production of simple iron farm tools. After more than 40 years of effort, and by concentrating its financial and material strength as well as manpower, it has built a large number of industrial enterprises. Its industrial economy grew out of nothing and from a small scale to a large one. It has developed a rather comprehensive industrial economic system including mining, metallurgy, machine-building, light industry, textiles, chemicals, building materials, food, and so on. Its major products now total over 1,100, including 85 export ones. At present, there are over 1,606 industrial enterprises at and above town level in the prefecture and gross industrial output value is 1,870 million yuan. Because it has developed to the present level on such a weak basis, this indicates that the socialist system is superior to the capitalist system. Third, its course of development is different. The initial accumulation of capitalism was in a cruel and barbarous form. Internally, a country adopting this system brutally suppressed and exploited its people. Externally, such a country plundered their colonies in an unbridled manner by such means as selling negro slaves, piratical acts, and gunboat policy. On the other hand, China's socialist development was achieved through self-reliance, arduous struggle, and self-accumulation. This is an important aspect to which we must pay attention when comparing socialism and capitalism. Fourth, its environment and conditions are different. Because of particular historical and geographical environments, some capitalist countries and regions received special protection and support from the capitalist world, and their economies were developed in a distorted

manner. On the other hand, however, socialist China was surrounded by capitalist political encirclement and economic blockade right from the first day of its founding and, under the circumstances of receiving little foreign aid, developed ourselves mainly by depending on our own efforts.

IV. Understand the Superiority of Socialist System and Further Strengthen Our Faith in Socialism by Using the Viewpoint on Development

According to the materialist dialectics viewpoint on development, the development of anything is a process. This is also true for socialist development and the process to give play to its superiority. In understanding the socialist system, not only should we know its past and its present, but also its future. We must avoid viewing it from a static and ossified viewpoint and must fully understand its bright future.

The remarkable achievements made in the establishment and development of the socialist system indicates the supreme superiority and strong vitality of the socialist system. However, such superiority and vitality are just in an initial phase. Socialism is a new thing and still at the preliminary stage. Therefore, it has a great potential for superiority. Furthermore, such superiority is shown gradually and it is impossible to fully release it in a single step. The practice of socialism has also proved that its superiority does not automatically reveal itself, but subject to constraints by various factors. The establishment of the socialist system has opened up a road for us to reach our ideal realm, but it still requires hard work to realize it. The socialist system has made it possible for us to develop the productive forces and to make progress in society. The superiority manifested by such possibility does not mean that it is real. In order to turn such possibility into reality, we must work arduously. Therefore, the issue concerning the superiority of socialist system is not only about understanding, but is also a significant practical issue. Only when we devote ourselves to social practice, voluntarily uphold socialism, and continuously perfect it, can we give full and comprehensive play to the superiority of the socialist system. China's current reforms and achievements have forcefully proved this point.

Following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party created order from chaos and reaffirmed the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. Economically, it put an end to the past system which was too rigid and adopted the practice of eating from the same big pot. Politically, it developed socialist democracy, perfected the socialist legal system, further displayed the superiority of the socialist system, and actively promoted development of the national economy. Through reforms, Xingtai Prefecture has seen remarkable changes. After the adoption in the rural areas of the contract responsibility system with remuneration linked to output, the enthusiasm of the peasants was fully mobilized. By 1990, the gross output value of grain was 68 percent more than before reform and gross cotton

output showed an increase of 2.2 times. Its town and township enterprises grew rapidly from small ones, their gross output value reaching 4,500 million yuan, an increase of 13 times compared to 1980. Surpassing the agricultural output value, it became an economic pillar of the rural areas. Through reforms and opening up, the prefecture's secondary and tertiary industries saw rapid development. In 1990, gross industrial output value was increased by seven times when compared to 1980 and its fiscal revenue had increased by more than three times. There was also great improvement in the people's material, cultural, and living standards. Compared to 1980, the prefecture's per capita income in the rural areas was increased by 5.3 times. At the same time, there were remarkable achievements made in science and technology, education, public health, and other cultural undertakings. This fully illustrates that the socialist system is imbued with enormous superiority and strong vitality. So long as we uphold and develop socialism, the superiority of the socialist system will be given greater play. This has also illustrated that it is absolutely possible for the socialist system to overcome its own deficiencies by depending on its own strength, to reach the level of perfection. This is unparalleled in any other system.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 4, p.453.
2. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p.122.

Communist Party Members Should Have a High Level of Revolutionary Consciousness

HK0705055691 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 91 p 47

[Article by Liu Yuhui (0491 3768 6540); reprinted from FENDOU (STRUGGLE) No. 1, 1991]

[Text] Revolutionary consciousness is a political characteristic and moral quality that a Communist Party member should have. Anyone without this is not a real communist. Recently, such revolutionary consciousness became indifferent in the minds of or was even forgotten by some people because of the influence of bourgeois liberalization, and impacts caused by the commodity economy. It is thus necessary for us to understand and cherish it one more time.

Revolutionary consciousness is a high level of class consciousness manifested by the proletariat, who accept and apply the Marxist world outlook to understand and remold the world; it is a dynamic function of the voluntary revolution derived therefrom. It is a symbol indicating a high level of party spirit and the proletariat's political consciousness. Therefore, revolutionary consciousness is one of the basic inherent characteristics of a proletarian political party and is its political understanding of inherent spiritual forces and revolution and it is formed by such a party when it conscientiously masters and applies the Marxist world outlook in its

practical work. In the course of social reforms, it is a basic requirement for and a manifestation of a communist to have a strong sense of undertaking a mission and responsibility; as well as to have the spirit of voluntarily and selflessly struggling for the communist ideal and bravely devoting himself to the cause.

What is the ideological basis that gives rise to the proletarian revolutionary consciousness? First, such revolutionary consciousness is based on the rule of historical development that capitalism is inevitably doomed, and that socialism and communism will eventually win a global victory. Second, a high level of revolutionary consciousness is based on the ideological basis that the proletariat's liberation can be achieved only by our own efforts. Third, a high level of revolutionary consciousness is based on the truth-seeking Marxist ideological line.

We do not mean to emphasize the revolutionary consciousness at the expense of organizational discipline. A rigid discipline tallies with the revolutionary consciousness. Both of them were worked out under the guidance of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought. Party discipline is a requirement of the proletarian revolution and a centralized manifestation of the will of the whole. Party discipline is based on conscious enforcement. Therefore, party discipline is also a conscious discipline, and consciousness is an inherent guarantee for effectively enforcing the discipline. In emphasizing consciousness, we do not mean to negate the use of force. It is necessary to force anyone who fails to act consciously to observe the discipline. To the advanced element, who really carries out conscious acts, the observation of party discipline is a conscious and voluntary act.

How can a Communist Party member be trained to have such a high level of revolutionary consciousness?

1. He must seriously study Marxist theory in his practical work and have firm faith that socialism must win.
2. He must uphold the party's principles in his practical work and strengthen his consciousness of serving the people.
3. He should further strengthen his concept of organization and enhance his consciousness about implementing the party's line.
4. He must further improve his consciousness about carrying forward the fine tradition of the party.

Simply put, the party member's revolutionary consciousness is closely related to the party's advanced level. In order to keep the party advanced and pure, we must begin by boosting the party spirit and revolutionary consciousness of party members and enhance the revolutionary consciousness of all party members to make them become proletarian vanguard fighters who are steadfast in their stand, have a clear-cut stand, keep a sober mind, and are active and promising. This is the basic guarantee that our party will always be in an invincible position.

A Unique Dictionary—Review of *Complete Dictionary of Practical Famous Remarks*

HK0705054191 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 91 p 48

[Article by Huang Tianji (7806 1131 7535)]

[Text] To look up a word, we have word dictionaries. To look up a phrase, we have vocabulary dictionaries. However, there is no appropriate reference work for well-known sayings and expressions. Over the years, people had yearned for the appearance of such a reference work. Now, such a book, *Complete Dictionary of Practical Famous Remarks*, compiled by noted writer Qin Mu and published by Guangxi People's Publishing House and Guangxi Education Publishing House, is available to the public. This is a gratifying event.

Focusing on practical usage, the dictionary collects a number of well-known sayings and expressions, making it stand out among the varied reference works. Well-known sayings and expressions are the products of our ancestors' thoughts and wisdom, the essence of a language, and are the treasures of thoughts and information in a condensed form. Given China's historical and cultural development, which goes back to ancient times, the quantity of well-known sayings and expressions is immense. When quoting them, people often find it difficult to find their sources. Who said that? In which works were such expressions printed? What was the exact meaning? How should they be appropriately quoted? These are just some of the problems this dictionary addresses. As Mr. Chen Yuan [7115 0626], former chairman of the State Commission for Literary Work and former chief editor of the Commercial Press, says in the "Preface" to this dictionary: This dictionary is very useful in many aspects. First, it allows the user to "confirm well-known sayings which may otherwise be confused in his memory." Second, it allows the user to "discover the source of an expression. What was the name of the ancestor who said it? Under what circumstances and for what purpose did he say it? How has it changed when being quoted over the years? This is the information people need to know when quoting them." Third, it allows the user to "check the number of expressions accumulated on a particular subject. Each of these expressions expounds on the subject from a different point of view. By classifying and indexing, it strengthens the user's understanding of such subject matter, thereby enlightening the reader." Fourth, on the part of users, it may "free them from the restrictions of classic language and help them obtain the meaning in modern language." Therefore, it may be said that the *Complete Dictionary of Practical Famous Remarks* is so practical that it makes up for the deficiencies of word and vocabulary dictionaries in terms of usage. This function cannot be replaced by any other reference works and this is also the source of its special value.

China has an old tradition of compiling reference works and classified works. The work of excerpting idioms,

literary quotations, poems, prose, and essays for reference purposes started when Emperor Wei Wendi compiled the work *Imperial Reading*. Later, books such as *Collected Writings of Bei Tang*, *Classified Collection of Literary Works*, and *Initial Study Notes* from the Tang dynasty; and *Tai Ping Imperial Reading* and *Ce Fu Yuan Gui* from the Song dynasty were generally works compiled on a particular topic of knowledge or on comprehensive topics of knowledge. They put emphasis on the examination of facts. While carrying forward such a tradition, the *Complete Dictionary of Practical Famous Remarks* breaks through the limitation of emphasizing only literary and art works, which was commonly found in similar works in the past. It expands the scope to cover such domains as life and society, thus meeting the readers' needs. The outline of the dictionary is both extensive and complete. There are 15,000 entries, or more than 2 million characters in the dictionary. The types of works covered by the dictionary include scriptures, classics, historical records, poems, prose, ballads, novels, storytelling scripts, and so forth. The content is divided into four parts, namely nature, life, society, and culture. Each of these parts consists of several sections. For example, in the part on life are sections on determination, moral character cultivation, behavior in society, health preservation, and sentiments. Each section is further divided into units. For example, there are units on morals and learning; talent, mind exercises; implication, intention; realm, and overall arrangements; stratagems, syntactics and semantics; rhetoric and polishing; and hard work in the section of writing under culture. Such vast entries of quotations are clearly arranged in a horizontal manner according to their content. The appendices of the dictionary include a brief chart of China's dynasties and a brief introduction to famous persons in Chinese history. To help readers look up a particular entry, there is an index of entries classified by the number of strokes. In compiling the dictionary, materials were drawn from an extensive range of works to widen the scope of coverage and the readers' field of vision. It has covered almost all past products of China's social thought and culture. It can be likened to the situation whereby, with this dictionary in hand, one may extensively read the essence of China's traditional culture, which is one of the major features of the *Complete Dictionary of Practical Famous Remarks*.

Another outstanding feature of this dictionary is that its explanations are accurate and succinct in style. While being easy to understand, it manages to give the correct and precise meanings. For example, the editor points out that the phrase "enduring as the universe", which is often quoted by people, came from Chapter Seven of *Lao Zi*. The explanation of the phrase is that "the universe exists between space and time." This thus briefly and clearly helps readers to understand the exact philosophical meaning and realize the hidden profound message behind the description about the length of time. Such meanings are merely expressed by such a limited number of words, nothing more and nothing less. Among all these entries, the maximum length of the explanation

notes is as many as over 200 characters. The average length is scores of characters. It was indeed a difficult task to achieve succinctness and clarity at the same time.

The selection of entries targeted for this dictionary were well-known sayings and expressions which had spread far and wide, had stood the test of time, and were frequently quoted. In the process of classification, the focal point was on the logic of these sayings and expressions, and they were arranged in chronological order. Therefore, when looking up a well-known saying, one may compare it with other remarks of a similar nature.

One may also trace the evolution of a particular issue or thought by focusing on its development in the long process of history.

The *Complete Dictionary of Practical Famous Remarks* is the result of joint efforts by the academic circles and printing houses in Guangxi Region and Guangdong Province. As each and every part of the dictionary shows the essence of China's traditional thoughts and language in an organized manner, not only does it help readers master various divisions of knowledge by studying these well-known sayings, but it also makes remarkable contributions to carrying forward China's outstanding traditional culture. This is indeed a unique dictionary worthy of being recommended to readers.

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